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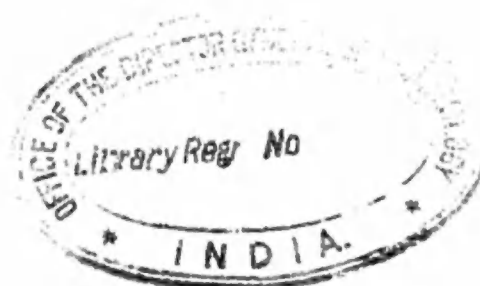
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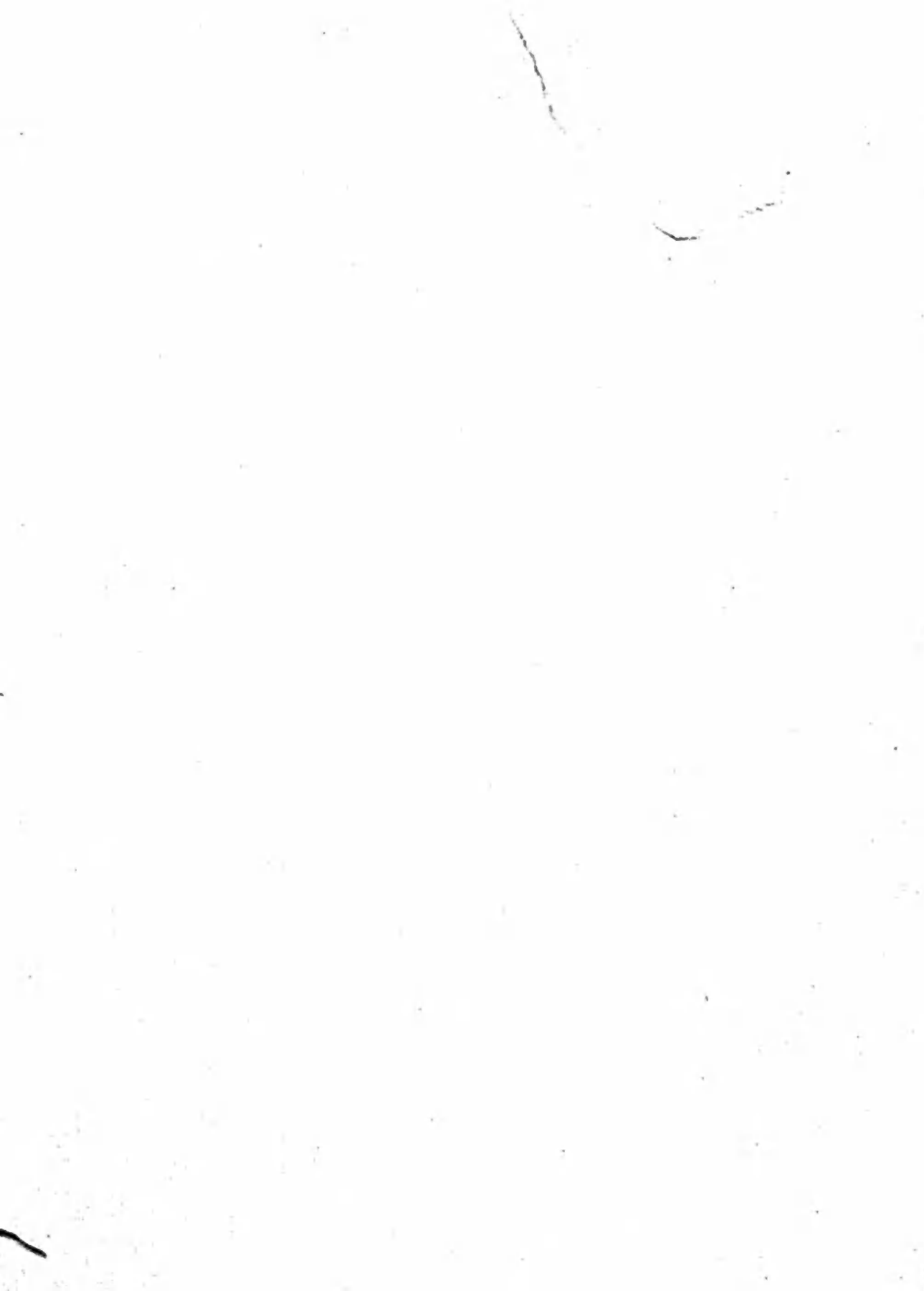
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OF THE  
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XXIV.

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## EXCAVATIONS IN MACEDONIA.

(PLATE I.)

THE place known as Chauchitsa lies some sixty kilometres to the north of Salonika (Fig. 1). It was identified first as an ancient site at the end of the year 1917, during military operations. During the digging of trenches and other works antiquities were discovered which were recognised as belonging to the various stages of culture of a period extending from Neolithic to Roman times. The majority of the objects so discovered I published in the *Annual* of the British School for 1918-1919.

On April 15th this year I paid a preliminary visit to the site. While considerable damage had been done by the cutting of trenches, I felt satisfied that sufficient of the original ground remained undisturbed to justify excavation. I therefore commenced excavation on the 28th of April, 1921. As the isolation of the site made the conditions of a small test excavation of this nature somewhat difficult I decided to continue only for such time as would enable me to ascertain the general nature of the site.<sup>1</sup>

### TOPOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The name Chauchitsa<sup>2</sup> seems to be a combination of Turkish and Slavonic elements, and means the 'Place of the Sergeant.' It belongs

<sup>1</sup> I take the opportunity of acknowledging here my very great indebtedness to my friend M. Pelekides, Ephor of Antiquities for Macedonia, who gave me much help in the preliminary arrangements and the fullest access to the results of his own excavations in the neighbourhood of Salonika, which throw considerable light upon the discoveries at Chauchitsa. I must also express my thanks to the Greek Government for granting permission to the British School for my excavation at Chauchitsa, and to the officers of the military frontier patrol at Bohemitsa for very great kindness in the way of occasional supply and transport. The cost of the excavations was covered by a grant from the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

<sup>2</sup> This spelling of the name corresponds to the modern pronunciation.



only to a small station on the junction railway which links up the stations of Karasouli and Kilindir. This junction line, however, is not now used. There is no longer a village bearing the name Chauchitsa, the nearest inhabited spot being the hamlet of Kalinova, two kilometres to the north-east. The actual site excavated lies about eight hundred metres to the north of the station on the southern slopes of a mass of low grassy

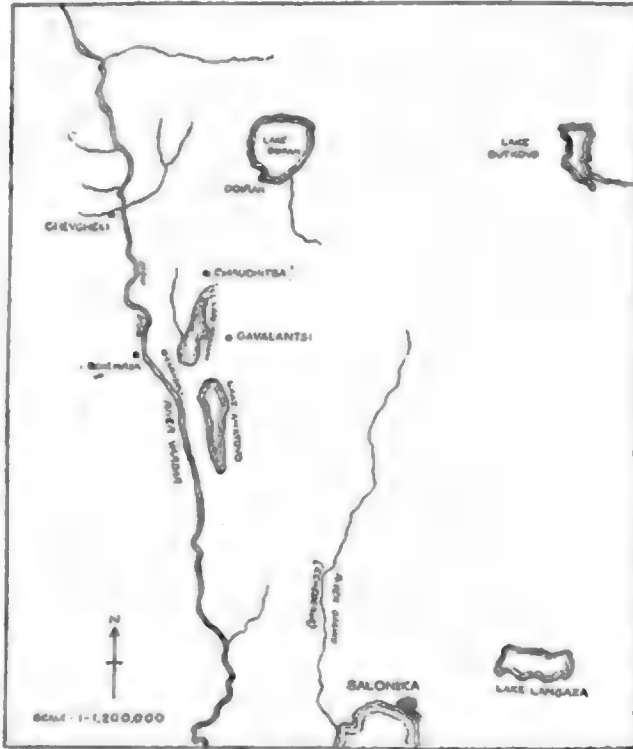


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF THE DISTRICT.

hills which form the northern boundary of Lake Ardjani and the plain of Janesh. It seems probable that the site lies on an important trade route which runs north and south from Central Europe to the Hellenic world, the actual Vardar valley route itself. This route diverged from the river somewhere near Ghevgheli and cut through the hilly country between Bogoroditsa and Lake Ardjani to avoid the almost impassable rocky country which constitutes the first "Iron Gates" of the Vardar between

Smol and Bohemitsa (Fig. 1). No road can follow the Vardar through this passage, and the Vardar route followed the line of least resistance by cutting south to the eastern end of Lake Ardjani. Chauchitsa would thus lie at its exit from the somewhat rough country to the north. From

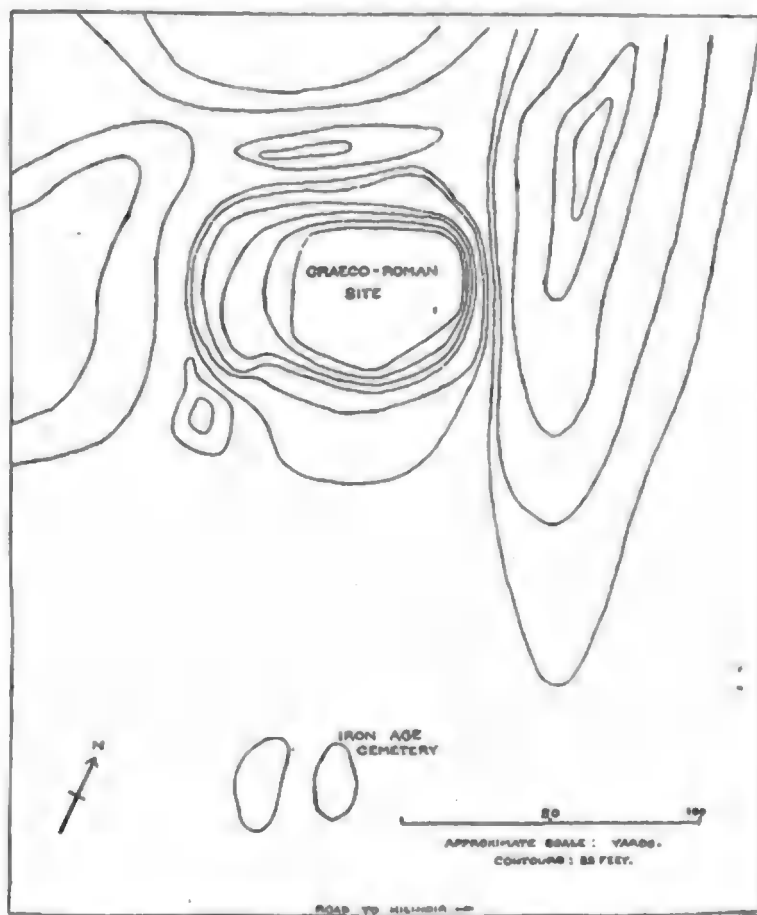


FIG. 2.—CONTOUR MAP OF THE AREA OF HABITATION.

Chauchitsa it probably ran in an almost straight line across the Ardjani marshes to Kilkis and the river Galiko (the Echeidorus of Herodotus), and so straight to Salonika and the Via Egnatia. Thus alone can the importance and the size of the site be explained. A causeway still exists across the Ardjani marshes from Chauchitsa to the hamlet of Gavalantsi

and so to Kilkis. It is still used for the traffic from the Ghevgheli and Karasouli areas to the south, and was repaired by British troops during the War. In all probability it lies on the ancient route.

#### NATURE OF THE SITE.

The site excavated is only part of a larger and more complex site (Figs. 2, 4). The Karasouli-Kilindir branch line and the military road constructed during the War run parallel and close together over ground which slopes gently from the foot of the hills to the edge of the marsh, and



FIG. 3.—LAKE ARDJANI AND THE MARSHES.

averages about one kilometre in width (Fig. 3). The soil is soft and alluvial. While rich it is nowhere very deep; in places it is very sandy, containing a large proportion of the fine mica sand peculiar to this part of Macedonia. At intervals occur outcrops of rock. The hills at the back are rounded and grass-covered except in places where the rock breaks through in sharp cliffs. The hills nowhere exceed two or three hundred feet in height. Immediately to the north of the station-house of Chauchitsa the rounded skyline of the hills is broken by a peculiar formation, particularly noticeable at sunset. One of the hills shows a flat-topped angular outline (Fig. 5). A close examination proved it to be covered with a fairly deep deposit of earth of an artificial nature containing on the surface pottery of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

A similar deposit extends over the south face of the hill right down to the level ground, which is covered with pottery fragments. The deposit



FIG. 4.—THE SITE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

ceases at a point some three hundred yards south of the hill. Southwards from the foot of the hill the sloping ground is broken, just before



FIG. 5.—THE ACROPOLIS HILL FROM THE CEMETERY  
LOOKING NORTH.

the road is reached, by two hillocks. The summit of each shows an outcrop of rock. Nowhere, on or near it, is Greek or Roman pottery found.

I commenced excavations on the two mounds, starting with the eastern (Fig. 6). Within thirty centimetres of the surface bones and objects of metal and bronze were found, and it soon became evident that the mound had been used as a burial-place. Trial trenches made

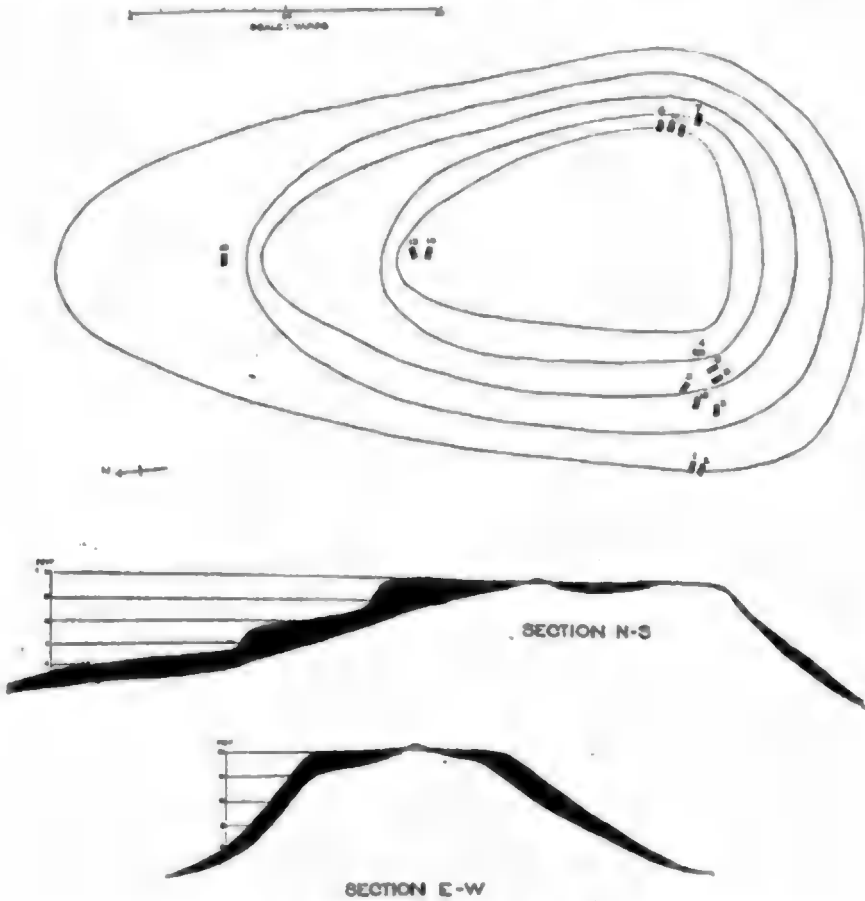


FIG. 6.—SKETCH MAP AND SECTIONS OF THE EASTERN MOUND.

it clear that the mound itself was not artificial, but consisted of a rocky outcrop (lightly covered with earth) in the form of a spur, projecting from the sloping ground that rose to the main acropolis hill at the back. Immediately to the east of the mound runs a small stream of excellent clear water, and the mound on this side as well as at its southern end falls

somewhat abruptly to the ground level. On its western side it slopes more gradually. The actual depth of earth is not great, averaging about a metre. Its greatest depth is at the northern end, where it reaches a metre and a half, and on the western side, where it is 1.30 metres. At the highest point of the mound it barely exceeds a few centimetres, and on the southern slopes it is only half a metre. On the highest part of the mound the rock itself appears.

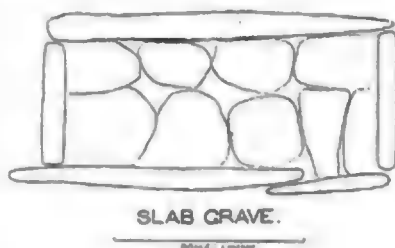
By the end of the excavation I had uncovered some fourteen graves on this mound. They varied in depth from thirty centimetres from the surface to a little over a metre. All without exception were burials by inhumation, and there was no appearance of orientation. They were placed on the top, sides and at the base of the mound, and it seems probable that the whole mound was used. In each case the body was covered with a mass of large unhewn stones, not placed in any order. In most cases these stones had sunk in the course of time, and in many cases the body and objects buried with it had been so disturbed and disarranged as to make it impossible to establish clearly the position of the skeleton and its associated objects. In the case of the two burials at the western base of the mound, there was a prepared floor consisting of whitish pebbles to each grave. The other burials seem to have been on the rock itself or very near it. There was no apparent regularity in the position of the bodies. Some were on their backs, others on their sides. All appeared to have been placed at full length. Vases were at the head or at the feet.

The soil here, as in other parts of Macedonia, seems to possess peculiarly corrosive qualities, both for bone and for pottery. Metal, on the other hand, survives well. Only in two cases did I find any appreciable remains of the skull, and in most cases fragments of bone of an indeterminate character were the chief indication of a burial. Bronze objects were preserved almost undamaged and iron was in fairly good condition. Stones, such as hard white quartz, seemed to have undergone some sort of disintegration in the soil, and when extracted usually crumbled to powder.

The burials excavated all belonged to the same type of culture and varied but little.

The western mound resembles the other in general appearance, except that its sides are less abrupt; it also has an outcrop of rock on

the highest point. I did not search for graves on this mound, since I thought it wiser to concentrate my somewhat slender resources upon one area in order to understand it thoroughly. I used two men, however, to clear a wall that appeared on the surface on the western side. It proved to be an isolated fragment of a building the date of which it was quite impossible to ascertain. Pottery of the types found in the graves



FIGS. 7, 8.—PLAN AND VIEW OF THE SLAB GRAVE.

at the other mound was abundant, but the soil in which it was found may have been disturbed recently, and I should hesitate to draw any conclusions as to this area.

About three hundred yards to the south-east of the mounds in the low flat ground between the road and the railway a large grave of a different type was discovered. It consisted of large stone slabs, and had originally had covering slabs (Figs. 7, 8). The top of this grave was 1-20

metres below the surface, the superincumbent soil being entirely alluvial. The grave appeared to have had a later internment inserted in it, and in addition to have been rifled in antiquity, since the covering stones had been removed and fragments of bones were found outside the tomb; fragments of a skull were found right at the surface in a corner. Another skeleton, however, was found at the bottom of the tomb undisturbed, and with all its ornaments and associated objects in their proper places. Of the date and nature of the upper burial I could find no indications, but from the condition of the bones found outside the tomb and of the skull fragments, as compared with those in the lower burial, it seems probable that the upper burial was much later. Perhaps we have here an instance of one of those unauthorised and illegal burials in an older tomb, the penalties for which bulk so large in the Macedonian inscriptions of Roman and Christian times.<sup>1</sup>

The graves on the mound and the large Slab Grave below in the plain all belong to a culture of the Iron Age. The large Slab Grave was an isolated discovery, but there seems every likelihood that there are other similar graves in the neighbourhood. In general the objects found in it seemed later and more developed than those from the graves on the mound. We thus have two cemeteries belonging probably to two different periods of the same culture. It is important that nothing either Neolithic or Hellenic was found this year on the mound or in the vicinity of the Slab Grave.

The Acropolis hill at the back, on the other hand, was, on the surface, entirely Greek or Roman. It remains, therefore, to find both the cemetery of the Greek and Roman town and the settlement of the people who were responsible for the Iron Age cemeteries. It is, of course, quite possible that the Iron Age settlement will be found under the Greek town and that the Classical cemeteries will appear near those of the Iron Age.

The nature of the Iron Age cemetery on the mound is peculiar. The bodies seem to have been laid either on the rock itself or in shallow depressions in still shallower earth. They were then covered with heavy

<sup>1</sup> See G. Seure: *Archéologie Thrace (Première Série, 1913)*, p. 62, and p. 61, inscription No. 40. This inscription is the only one from Thrace which actually refers to the law against *τυφάρευσία*. Two similar references come from Asia Minor. There is no dearth of inscriptions both in Thrace and in Macedonia which refer to the offence without mentioning the law against it.



stones, presumably to keep off the wolves with which this country still abounds. In the course of time a thin stratum of earth formed over both grave and cairn.

This type of cairn-burial on mounds is common at other periods both in the plains of Macedonia and in other similar plain lands. For the most part this type of cemetery seems characteristic of nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples. Some of the Iron Age cemeteries excavated in the Caucasus resemble that of Chauchitsa in general situation, being for the most part on small hills.<sup>1</sup> The necropolis of Akhtala, situated on the hill of St. George, provides the closest parallel. The Iron Age cemetery at Halos in Thessaly,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, differs very greatly from that of Chauchitsa. All the burials at Halos were burials after incineration, and they were in groups on a small tumulus only about twenty metres in diameter. The only point of resemblance between Chauchitsa and Halos is in the fact that the burials in each case were covered with a cairn of stones to prevent violation of the tombs.

For the Slab Grave burial many good parallels exist.<sup>3</sup>

#### OBJECTS FOUND IN THE GRAVES.<sup>4</sup>

##### *Grave Groups.*

1. At the base of the mound on the west side. Depth .60 m.  
One small hand-made vase of red ware. Type A.  
Three bronze beads, small.  
One large bronze bead measuring .03 in height and .04 in breadth. (Fig. 10.)  
One bronze hair-ring.  
This grave was lined with a basis of whitish stones.
2. At the base of the mound on the west side. Depth 1 m.  
One large wheel-made beaked vase lying above the feet. Type B. (Fig. 21b.)  
The leg and arm bones of the skeleton were intact.

<sup>1</sup> De Morgan, *Mission Scientifique au Caucase*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xviii. p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The Iron Age tombs at Theotokou in Thessaly (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 321 *et seq.*) were of this nature and contained no trace of incineration. The necropolis of Mouci-Yeri in the Caucasus (De Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 40) contained a large number of stone Slab Graves of the same general type as that of Chauchitsa. The principal difference between the two is that the Chauchitsa tomb was made to hold a body lying at full length, while those of Mouci-Yeri were shorter and made to hold bodies in a crouching position.

The graves of Hallstatt seem to resemble for the most part those of the hill-cemetery of Chauchitsa, and Slab Graves do not appear to have been in use there.

<sup>4</sup> The numbers given to the graves represent the order of their discovery. The pottery is classified according to the types given below, p. 21 *sqq.*

3. On the summit of the mound near the western edge. Depth .80 m.  
Two iron knives. (Fig. 11c.)  
One iron pin.  
A fragment of a hand-made vase. Type A.
4. On the summit of the mound near the western edge. Depth 1.30 m.  
The skeleton was fairly well preserved, the skull being more or less intact.  
Two hand-made cups (one thin and with one handle) of rough ware, were on the left side of the skull. Type A.  
Two iron knife-blades were near the left hand.
5. Near the summit of the mound at the western edge. Depth .5 m.  
One single-handled vase of grey ware, wheel-made. Type C. (Fig. 20.)  
One single-handled vase of red ware, wheel-made. Type B.  
One single-handled jug of brownish ware, hand-made. Type A. (Figs. 13, 14.)
6. On the east side of the mound. Depth 1.40 m.  
One large bronze pin with a spiral head. (Fig. 11.)  
One pair of bronze tweezers. (Fig. 11.)  
Two small bronze beads.  
Two fragments of black hand-made pottery.  
One wheel-made bowl of red ware, much broken. Type B.
7. On the east side of the mound. Depth 1 m.-1.20 m.  
One hand-made beaked jug of grey ware. Type A. (Figs. 13, 14.)  
One wheel-made beaker with ribbed lines round the side. Type C. (?)  
One hand-made globular cup of rough red ware. Type A. (Fig. 13.)
8. On the west side of the mound. Depth .50 m.  
One beaked jug, hand-made, of grey ware. Type A. (Fig. 14.)  
One clay bead.  
Fragments of a second beaked jug of grey ware. Type A.  
One gold plaque embossed with a rough geometrical design. (Fig. 12a.)
9. On the west side of the mound. Depth .25-.30 m.  
One wheel-made bowl of red ware with one handle. Type B. (Fig. 18.)  
One bronze hair-ring. (Fig. 11.)
10. At the north end of the mound. Depth 1.10 m.-1.25 m.  
One long bronze pin. (Fig. 11.)  
One small bronze bead.  
One small bronze finger-ring. (Fig. 11.)
11. On the east side of the mound. Depth .60 m.-1.5 m.  
Two bronze armlets, each of five rings. Type III. (Fig. 11a.)  
One bronze hair-ring.  
One bronze fibula.  
One paste bead with 'eye' pattern.  
Two wheel-made bowls with one handle, of red ware, glazed inside. Type B.

12. On the west side of the mound. Depth, .80-1.25 m.  
Two small bronze armlets. Type I. (Fig. 11b.)  
Two thick bronze rings: diameter of each .04 m.  
One thin bronze finger-ring.  
One thick bronze finger-ring.  
One bronze armlet of small size with eight rings. Type II.  
One hand-made vase of grey ware of globular shape and with one handle.  
Type A.
13. On the summit of the mound. Depth 1 m.  
Two heavy bronze armlets. Type I.  
One 'spectacle' brooch.  
Two iron knife-blades.  
Three small bronze beads.  
One hand-made bowl of red ware. Type A.
14. On the summit of the mound. Depth 1 m.  
One heavy bronze armlet. Type I.  
Half a 'spectacle' brooch.  
One thin bronze finger-ring.  
One hand-made vase of coarse black ware, much broken. Type A.  
One hand-made vase of globular shape of rough red ware. Type A.

#### SLAB GRAVE (Pl. I. and Fig. 9b).

On the low ground between the road and the railway. Depth 1.20 m.  
The slabs measure 1.85 m. at the sides in length and .70 m. at the ends, and in height are approximately .70 m.  
The bottom of the grave was lined with smaller slabs.  
One wheel-made jug of red ware with one handle, on the left side of the head.  
Type B.  
Two large bronze 'spectacle' brooches on the shoulders. Type II.  
A necklace of 101 very small bronze beads round the neck.  
One star- or flower-shaped pin near the right shoulder.  
One large and two small bronze beads near the centre of the body.  
One bronze armlet on the left forearm. Type I.  
Two iron pins with fragments of ivory or bone adhering to them, near the feet.  
One small bronze finger-ring.  
About ten fragments of small bronze spirals.

Many other objects of bronze and pottery were found in different places in positions which could not be clearly identified as graves. Disturbance of the soil in the last three years and the sinking of the cairns above graves has caused many objects to be displaced. Objects which cannot be grouped into grave-groups are included in the classification given below.

*Objects of Bronze.*

*Armlets.*—The amount of bronze ornaments found was, indeed, remarkable. During the first half-hour of the excavation no less than eight large bronze bracelets and armlets were found. They were all in the same area and close together. They had every appearance of being a hoard, but I think it more probable that they came from one or two graves and had been displaced by the sinking of cairn stones. It is, of

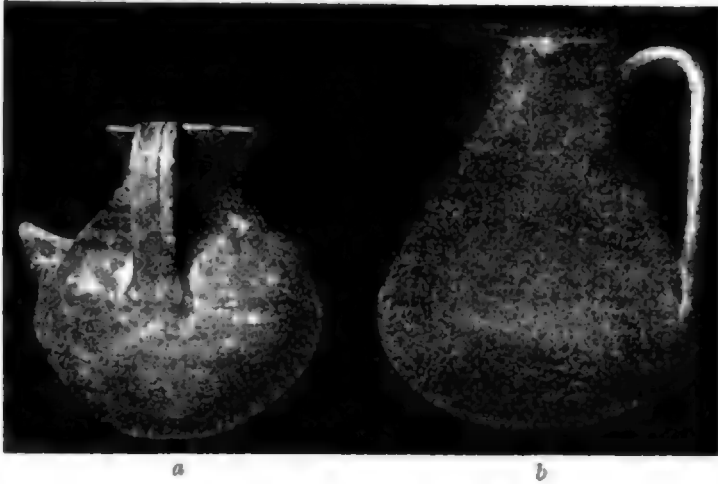


FIG. 9.—VASES OF TYPE B. (Scale 1 : 3.)

course, equally probable that they had been collected from different tombs by some tomb robber and abandoned. In two cases three of the bracelets were found linked together (see Fig. 10) in such a way that they could not possibly have been placed on the arms of the dead person. The fact that no bones were found inside these rings tends to confirm this supposition. With this group of armlets was found a bronze ornament of a peculiar nature (see below).

The armlets fall into three types :—

I. (Fig. 11b).—A simple heavy ring of one convolution. In section it is rectangular, but the ends are usually worked off to a rounded section. It is the most common type.

II. (Fig. 10).—In section triangular, consists of a large number of convolutions varying from four to eight. It was intended to be worn,

I think, on the forearm and would extend from the wrist to the elbow. As such it would be an extremely heavy and barbaric ornament. It ends in a heavy straight handle, of rectangular section, the sides being usually decorated with incised lines.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 10.—BRONZE ARMLETS OF TYPE II.,  
BROOCH OF TYPE I., AND BEAD.

III. (Fig. 11*a*).—Rarer than the two preceding. In section it is circular throughout and consists usually of from three to five convolutions.

I know of no very exact parallels to these armlets. Armlets similar to those of Type I. have been found at Olympia,<sup>2</sup> at Sparta,<sup>3</sup> and Dodona.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This handle has been broken off from all the examples in Fig. 10, except that at the top of the right-hand corner which has lost its upper convolutions.

<sup>2</sup> *Bronzes*, Pl. XXIII., Nos. 387-9.

<sup>3</sup> In the *apothéke* of the Sparta Museum, unpublished.

<sup>4</sup> National Museum, Athens (Carapanos Coll.).

and Delphi,<sup>1</sup> but they are not quite so heavy. For the armlets of Type II., I can find no parallel at all.

*Beads.*—The beads (Fig. 10) are almost all of types common in the Geometric strata of the principal sites of Southern Greece, particularly at Olympia, Sparta and Aegina. Beads such as the large one from the Slab Grave (Pl. I.) seem to be of a more advanced type. They are more common on the Southern Greek sites but are found also on the Macedonian littoral. Several occurred in graves recently excavated by M. Pelekides at Kalamaria.<sup>2</sup> The same shapes occur also in gold. One such was found in 1917 at Aivasil<sup>3</sup> by Professor E. A. Gardner, and M. Pelekides has found others at Kalamaria. In each case these gold beads, and some of the bronze, were found associated with Hellenic pottery of about the sixth or seventh centuries B.C.

*Pins.*—The bronze pins (Fig. 11) were, with one exception, all of the same type. In section they were rectangular except towards the extremity, while the heads were pointed like the heads of hobnails. In length they varied from .2 to .28 m. Bronze pins at Sparta and Olympia have often the same large dimensions, but they are usually more ornate.

One bronze pin had a flattened spiral turned over on one side instead of the usual hobnail head (Fig. 11).

The purpose of these pins is uncertain, but I am inclined to think that they were used for the hair. They seem too large for using in garments.

*Brooches.*—The spectacle brooches are undoubtedly the most important of all the bronzes (Pl. I. and Fig. 10). They fall into two types, agreeing with a classification which I have already suggested elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> In Type I. the bronze wire of which the brooch is made is usually of circular section. The junction between the two or three spirals is formed by a continuous strand, thus forming an S shape (Fig. 10). In Type II. there are only two spirals, and the junction of the spirals is broken either by a double twist in the wire or else by the junction strand being cut and bent round at the ends into two small loops (Pl. I.). Altogether twelve complete or nearly complete examples have been found at Chauchitsa. Of these, six were found on the mounds in 1917 and were the chief objects which called my attention to the importance

<sup>1</sup> *Bronzes*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 32, and *Antiquaries' Journal*, Vol. i. No. 3, p. 209.

of this site. These six specimens have already been published by me.<sup>1</sup> The remaining six were found during the excavations here described. All except three belong to Type I. Of those belonging to Type II., two

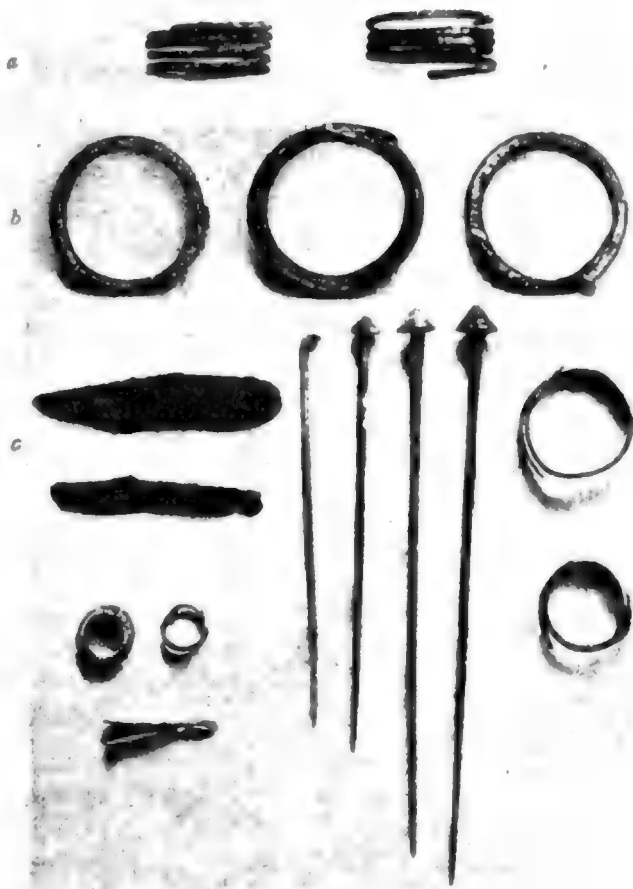


FIG. 11.—BRONZE ARMLETS OF TYPES III. (a), I. (b), PINS, RINGS AND TWEEZERS, IRON KNIFE-BLADES (c).

were found in the Slab Grave. The other ten were all found on the mound.

The majority of 'spectacle' brooches from other sites in Greece belong to Type II. A very large series was found at Pateli, near Ostrovo.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xxiii. Pl. VII., and *Antiquaries' Journal*, loc. cit., p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xxiii., p. 32, n. 1.

Others occur at Sparta in large numbers, at Olympia,<sup>1</sup> Argos<sup>2</sup> and in the Geometric stratum of most of the sites of Southern Greece.

Evidence as to the exact distribution of these brooches outside Greece is unsatisfactory. They are found in fairly large numbers along the coast of the Adriatic and in Central Europe. For the most part these examples belong to Type II., particularly those from Hallstatt.<sup>3</sup> East of Macedonia our records fail us, since little or no excavation has been carried out in Thrace. I was able, however, to acquire fragments of two small spectacle brooches at Xanthi in Thrace which were said to have been found at the village of Otman-Giourou, on the foothills behind Xanthi, near the great northern road that cuts through the mountains to Bulgaria. These examples belong to Type I.

Other brooches or fibulae of different types are rare at Chauchitsa. One fibula of the Dipylon type was found in 1917 and has been published.<sup>4</sup> One of a different and, I think, later type was found this year in grave No. 11. It is a simple ornament of twisted wire of the 'Bow' type.<sup>5</sup> It was associated with pottery which seems to be of a later type than the pottery usual in the Chauchitsa graves.

#### *Miscellaneous Objects.*

Two specimens of bronze tweezers were unearthed (Fig. 11). In type they are identical with those from most Iron Age sites. Thus there are several examples from Hallstatt, and they occur also in the Iron Age cemeteries of the Caucasus.<sup>6</sup>

A number of ornaments of different types found in 1917 I have already published. For the most part they correspond to known types found in the Geometric strata of Southern Greek sites, or in the graves of Hallstatt. This year only two ornaments of unusual types were found, (Figs. 12b and Pl. I.) but both are of great interest. The first, best described as a cup-shaped vessel, measures .07 m. in height and has a long thin stem at the base. Two holes pierce the projecting edges of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bronzes*, Pl. XXI. No. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, Pl. LXXXV., No. 818.

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, Vol. lxvii., Pl. XXX., and Von Sacken, *Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, Pl. XIII., Nos. 9, 9A.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquaries' Journal*, loc. cit. Pl. VII.

<sup>5</sup> For the type see B.M. Guide, *Early Iron Age*, p. 32, No. II.B.

<sup>6</sup> *Archaeologia*, Vol. lxvii., Fig. 13.; De Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 131.



rim, one on each side. A separate lid or cap fits on to the top of the vessel. It is adorned on each side with a bird's head, and in the centre on the top is a projecting stem. Two holes pierce this lid transversely and correspond in position with the rim-holes of the main body of the ornament. The sides of the lower part of the ornament are decorated

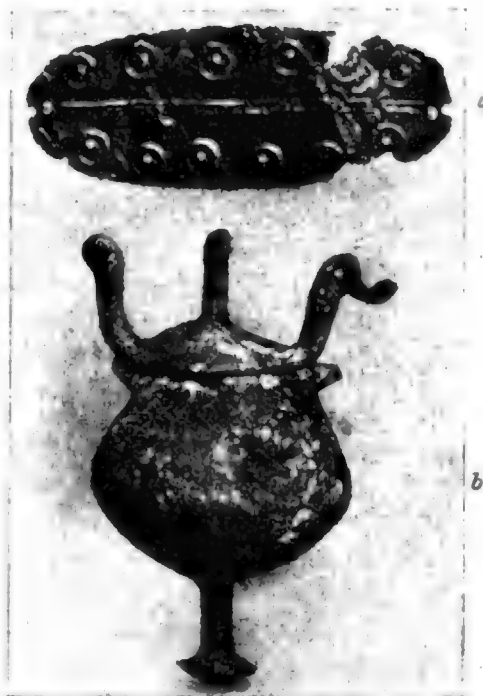


FIG. 12.—(a) GOLD PLAQUE FROM GRAVE 8;  
(b) BRONZE ORNAMENT (?). (Scale 6:7.)

with incised lines in groups of three running slantwise across the upper half of the body.

Another example<sup>1</sup> of this type of ornament, precisely similar in every detail, was found on the mound in 1917. In neither instance, however, was it possible to ascertain the position of the ornament in relation to the body. I can find no parallel to this type of ornament unless it be

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquaries' Journal*, I. No. 3, Fig. 1 (the two parts are shown separately). [Five more perfect examples of this type of ornament were found in the cemetery during excavations this year, 1922.]

an object from Olympia.<sup>1</sup> The Olympia example, however, has horses' heads instead of birds' heads. It has the same pierced holes at the sides of the rim, though the lid is missing.

It seems most probable that these ornaments were suspended from the neck. The lid to the Chauchitsa example does not fit structurally on to the body, but if a cord is passed through the transverse holes of the upper and lower parts together, and the ornament is suspended, the lid fits closely to the body. Their purpose is obscure, but the fact that the body is hollow and some three centimetres in diameter suggests that the whole ornament was used as an amulet in which some sacred or precious object was placed.

The second ornament (Pl. I.) is a pin seven centimetres in height. The head of the pin is shaped like a six-petalled rose and is some three centimetres in diameter. It was found in the Slab Grave. Similar ornaments were found at Sparta, but I can find no exact parallel.

#### *Objects of Iron.*

*Knife Blades and Pins.*—Iron objects were not abundant on the site. Graves 4 and 13 each contained two iron knife-blades. Grave 3 and the Slab Grave contained iron pins (Pl. I.). A few isolated fragments also were found not clearly associated with burials. The pins from the Slab Grave had attached to them fragments of what appears to be ivory, and may, perhaps, come from the handle of a dagger.

The knife-blades (Fig. 11c) are of the type usually found in Iron Age burials. In length they average ten centimetres, and were originally fastened to bone handles by means of rivets, which still remain. Close parallels are to be found in the graves of Mouci-Yeri and Akhtala in the Caucasus.

#### *Objects of Gold.*

A gold plaque was found in a grave group on the mound in 1917.<sup>2</sup> This year a second, of similar dimensions (6.5 cm. long) and decorated in the same way, was found (Fig. 12a). It is diamond-shaped and made of fairly thick gold leaf, decorated with two rows of concentric circles with

<sup>1</sup> *Bronzes*, Pl. XXIII., No. 416, and see similar ornaments from Central Europe: Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst*, Pl. XIV., Fig. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquaries' Journal*, loc. cit. Pl. VII.



FIGS. 13, 14.—HAND-MADE CUPS AND JUGS OF TYPE A. (Scale 1:3.)

six circles in each row. The two rows are divided by a line. In general appearance it is of the same type as the plaque found at Aivasil,<sup>1</sup> but seems less carefully worked. Similar plaques have recently been found by M. Pelekides in graves at Kalamaria, where, as at Aivasil, they were associated with Hellenic pottery of the sixth or seventh century B.C.

#### *Various Objects.*

Under this heading there is very little to record. The usual grave ornaments were limited almost entirely to objects of bronze and iron. No trace of bone or amber was found, and no ivory except the doubtful fragments attached to the iron pins in the Slab Grave. Two beads of paste, however, were found. One was plain of a buff colour, the other, found in Grave IX, was yellow, with three 'eyes' inlaid in white material on the sides. The latter resembles the type of bead found at Hallstatt.

#### *Pottery.*

The pottery presents some of the most difficult and in many ways surprising results of this excavation. The fact that no exact parallels for any of the pottery can be found in Greece, and few outside Greece, renders an understanding of the problems involved all the more difficult.

Generally speaking the pottery found at Chauchitsa can be classified into three large and distinct types according to fabric and technique. Shapes, however, persist to a very large extent through all these three types, and it is impossible to say that any one shape is peculiar to any one type. These main types are as follows:—

A (Figs. 13, 14 and 15a). Coarse hand-made vessels of rough reddish-brown clay. None of the vases of this type exceed .15 m. in height, and most are smaller. The only decoration is incised, and usually consists of a row of dots or roughly cut triangles round the base of the necks. The handles nearly always have a peculiarity which is not found in any other type of vase at this site—namely, a twist at the top so as to give a firm thumb-hold, giving the appearance of a spiral turn. Altogether eight complete or fragmentary examples of this type were found. The shapes are for the most part small beaked jugs with the necks cut away near the handle. Other shapes are small saucers or single-

<sup>1</sup> B.S.A. xxiii. p. 21.

handled round-necked jugs. Fragments of pottery with a stamped pattern of circles belong to this class (Fig. 15*b*, 2).

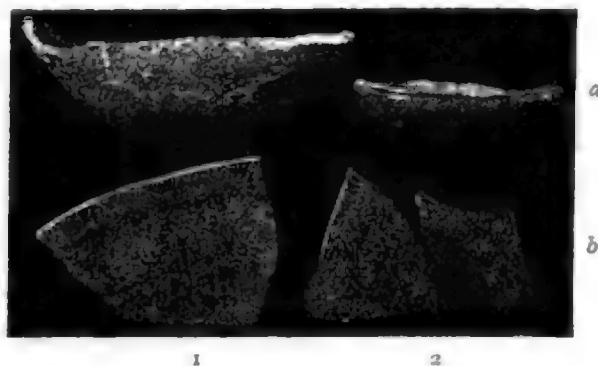


FIG. 15.—(a) HAND-MADE SAUCERS OF TYPE A;  
(b) DECORATION ON TYPES B AND A. (Scale 1 : 3.)

B (Figs. 16–19 and 21*b*). Thin, finely made vases of well-worked clay. In shape they vary considerably, and in size they are, on the whole,

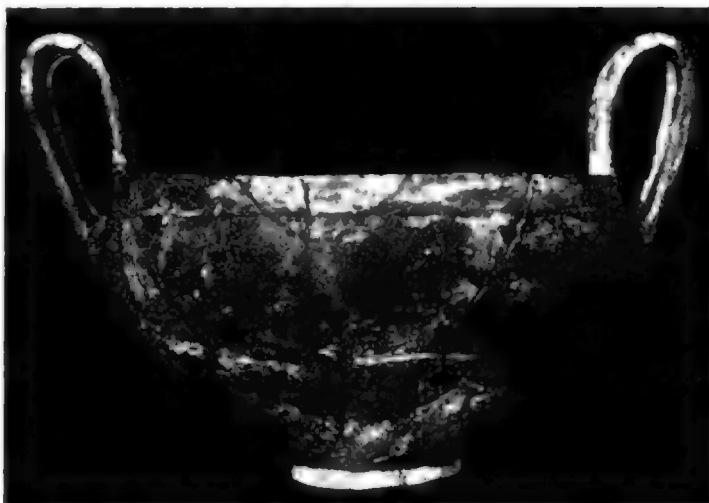


FIG. 16.—WHEEL-MADE BOWL OF TYPE B. (Scale 1 : 3.)

much larger than those of the preceding class. They are always made on the wheel. The beaked jug with cut-away neck is found in this class, the examples found being of considerable size—30 to 35 m. in height

(Figs. 17, 21b). One example of a round-necked jug was also found. The twisted handle peculiar to Class A is, however, not found. Large double-handled bowls of great elegance (Fig. 16) and extreme thinness seem characteristic of this class; four examples were found, greatly broken, together with fragments of other examples. Of other shapes the most noteworthy seem to be low flat bowls of a cothon type with one handle (Figs. 18, 19<sup>1</sup>) and single-handled jugs with round mouths and 'feeding-bottle' spouts (Fig. 9a) let into the sides. Of the latter shape one

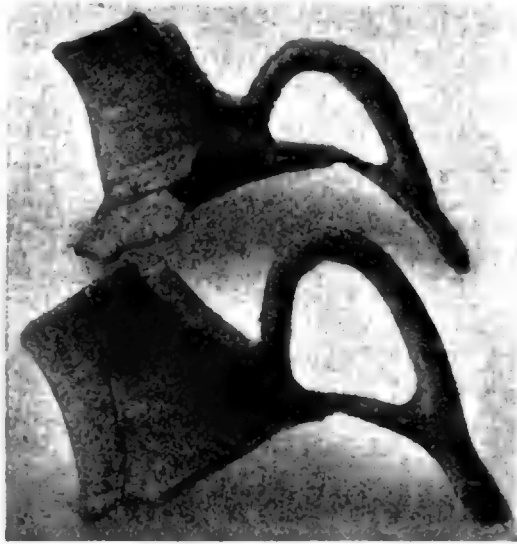


FIG. 17.—NECKS OF JUGS OF TYPE B.

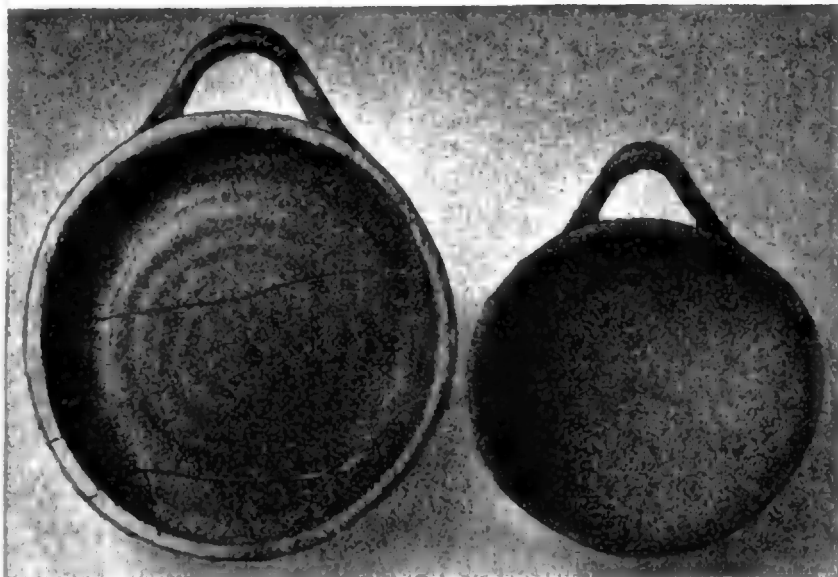
complete example and several fragments were found. One example of a jug with a cut-away neck was found in the Slab Grave of a type midway between the beaked jugs of Class A and of this class and the ordinary round-necked jug; the neck was round, but had been cut away very slightly near the handles (Fig. 9b).<sup>2</sup>

The majority of the vases of this type were decorated in an elementary way with glaze paint. The elegant two-handled bowls were glazed

<sup>1</sup> Found in 1917: now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. I am indebted to Mr. A. E. Curle for this photograph and for permission to reproduce it. There is another of this type from Chauchitsa in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> A bronze miniature vessel exactly of this type was found at the site in 1917, *Antiq. Journal*, loc. cit., Pl. VI., Fig. 1.

inside, while the rims and lower part of the vase was covered with red glaze paint applied with a brush. In one fragment a pattern of vertical panels of parallel red lines extended from the rim downwards (Fig. 15*b*, 1), while in the large almost complete bowl (Fig. 16) the edge and inside of the rim had been roughly painted with red lines in groups, at regular intervals. The large beaked jugs with cut-away necks do not seem to have been painted at all. The 'feeding-bottle' jug and the Slab Grave



FIGS. 18, 19.—FLAT BOWLS OF TYPE B. (Scale 1:3.)

jug were decorated with parallel horizontal lines of red-black glaze paint round the body just below the necks.

C (Figs. 20, 21*a*). Wheel-made vases of grey clay with finely smoothed surfaces which give the appearance of a thin slip. None of the shapes of the preceding classes occur in this class. The most characteristic shapes in this class are one-handled cups with slender ringed stems shaped almost exactly like Hellenic cantharoi, sometimes with bulging sides. The only decoration is a kind of wheel-made incision consisting of parallel lines round the centre or upper part of the vessels.

In estimating the importance and meaning of these different types and of their inter-relation we are faced with the difficulty already noted,

of the absence of good parallels. It was clear from the excavations that no very great period of time is covered by the burials on the mound. Whatever period this may be, vases of all three classes belong to it. The only exception is the jug (Fig. 9b) of Class B, which was not found on the mound but in the Slab Grave, and is almost certainly of a later date.

It thus becomes evident that the small hand-made beaked jugs with cut-away necks, and all the hand-made ware, are roughly contemporary



FIG. 20.—CANTHAROS CUP OF TYPE C.

with wheel-made ware of the same and of different shapes. That hand-made and wheel-made wares were thus contemporary was clear from the fact that graves containing hand-made wares were found close to and at the same level as graves containing wheel-made ware, while in Grave 6 and in other places where pottery was found, but could not be associated definitely with distinct burials, the two types were found in close association. There was, in fact, no evidence whatever that wheel-made pottery was a development of hand-made in point of time.

The theory of a 'Peasant art' at once suggests itself. Hand-made pottery may have been that of the poorer people, wheel-made



that of the richer or more cultivated. But it seems much more probable that the practical needs of daily life caused the two styles of pottery-making to exist at the same time. The less important and more portable vessels, and consequently the more numerous, could be made by hand more quickly and perhaps more easily. The finer and more elegant vessels would be made on the wheel. This seems borne out by the fact that the hand-made vessels are largely utilitarian; they are cups, plates and small portable jugs. Older traditions, too, would survive in domestic wares, just as older strata of language survive in domestic words,



FIG. 21.—(a) CANTHAROS CUP OF TYPE C; (b) JUG OF TYPE B. (Scale 1 : 4.)

and it is evident that both the shapes and the incised decoration of the beaked jugs of the hand-made ware carry on a tradition that was formed long before the Iron Age. At the same time it should be noted that the Iron Age date of the Chauchitsa hand-made ware of Class A is indisputable; in Graves 3, 4, and 13 it is found actually *with* iron, while in Grave 8 a beaked jug was found with the gold plaque which is itself of a late Iron Age date and type.

The fact that at Chauchitsa vases of an apparently archaic shape and technique were contemporary with apparently advanced and elegant wheel-made vases goes far to explain two other instances which have

hitherto been considered as paradoxical. At Skyros a group of vases was found in two tombs.<sup>1</sup> In one tomb there were three vases, of which two were of Iron Age types and one a beaked jug with a cut-away neck. The second tomb contained only Iron Age ware. Of the beaked jug Mr. Dawkins says that it 'presents an extremely archaic form.' The second instance is exactly parallel. At Theotokou in Thessaly Messrs. Wace and Thompson found a grave of the Early Iron Age<sup>2</sup> in which were eight vases. Of these seven were of Iron Age shapes, and closely resemble the Chauchitsa painted ware of Class B both in shape and in the painted decoration. The eighth vase is a beaked jug with a cut-away neck of the same type as those of Class A above.

As far as parallels can be drawn, therefore, Theotokou and Skyros provide the nearest analogies to the Chauchitsa pottery. It is further important that these two places fall into the same cultural area, which is approximately that of the coast lands of the North-West Aegean. But whereas at Theotokou and at Skyros the beaked jugs were the exception to the general type of pottery, at Chauchitsa they, with similar ware, seemed to be characteristic of the site, while the red bowls with painted decoration seemed to imply some new influence. This view is strengthened by the fact that out of a total of eighty-nine vases found at Pateli, eighteen are beaked jugs of Class A. The grey ware of Class C, on the other hand, seemed equally characteristic of the site, but reflects some other influence which has certainly some connexion with Hellenic pottery as well as with Danubian fabrics. As far as any conclusion can yet be safely drawn, therefore, as to the pottery, it appears to combine a Northern with a Southern element. The grey cups of Class C, of the stemmed one-handled type and also the bulging vases with wheel incision, both recall Hallstatt and other Northern types. The bulging vases even suggest more remote and later types such as are found in Celtic pottery.

The red-glaze painted vases, on the other hand, recall Geometric wares, particularly those of Theotokou, while the 'feeding-bottle' type, both in shape and decoration, suggests a sub-Mycenaean origin, and seems characteristic of a culture which had come under the influence of things Mycenaean, but had not yet developed the full strength and

<sup>1</sup> R. M. Dawkins, *B.S.A.* xi. p. 79, and Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 210.

capacity of Geometric pottery skill. It was not until they came into an area where the traditions of pottery-making were old and strong that the makers of Geometric pottery developed style and technique in such a way that they were ultimately able to produce wares such as the Dipylon ware.

The red-glaze painted bowls of Chauchitsa thus are due, I imagine, either to an intrusive element from the experienced pottery-making area of Thessaly, from where earlier connexions with Macedonia are recorded,<sup>1</sup> or else they are the uninfluenced beginnings of what we see more developed in Thessaly and further south at a later period. The question of chronology thus remains undecided, and at present it is impossible to say whether Geometric wares such as those of Theotokou and Skyros are earlier or later than those of Chauchitsa.

The small beaked and other jugs of archaic form provide a problem which as yet is equally undecided. It seems improbable that they came from the South, while at the same time there is no very clear Northern parallel for them, and it is remarkable that they perpetuate an old Aegean shape that recurs at many periods and is found in the North Aegean area and well into Asia Minor, as, for instance, at Yortan and Troy. But both at Skyros and at Theotokou they seem intrusive and not indigenous, while at Chauchitsa they form the most numerous class. So, too, they occur at Pateli, not in a minority.<sup>2</sup>

In any solutions that may be ultimately arrived at it must be borne in mind that the clay of all the vases of all types found in these excavations at Chauchitsa seems to be of local origin and contains the fine mica dust which is characteristic of the soil of Macedonia.

#### HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS.

Before any attempt can be made to associate the Chauchitsa culture with the name of any known people or tribe, some attempt must be made to give an outline, as far as that is possible, of the history of Macedonia before the time of Alexander the First.

Macedonia has been subject to a series of invasions from the north throughout its history, more frequent and more numerous perhaps than

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 30 and 33.

<sup>2</sup> Out of 89 vases from Pateli 60 are of archaic forms.

in any other part of Europe. The result in antiquity, as to-day, has been to bring about a mixture of races so confused as, at times, to defy accurate analysis or classification. It is not without interest that in many cases the place-names in antiquity show as many different changes of ownership as those of to-day.<sup>1</sup> The principal condition which brought about and ultimately shaped the direction of all these racial movements was the Vardar valley, which, leading like a funnel from the main routes of the Danubian area down to the rich open plains of maritime Macedonia, was from the earliest times, as it has been in recent years, the line of least resistance to pressure from the north.

We can identify as coming from the north, without, however, being able to derive any definite idea as to date, at least two large waves of Aryan invasion. The first is that which brought into the foothills of Olympus and into the Vardar and Haliacmon valleys the people who were known generally to the Greeks as Phrygians.<sup>2</sup> These early Phrygians of Macedonia were, so Herodotus tells us,<sup>3</sup> called Briges while they were in Europe. He adds the most interesting statement that the Armenians were colonists of the Phrygians, a fact which suggests that the Phrygians of Macedonia are the remnants of a very early Aryan invasion which swept down to the Balkan peninsula, and then on and past it to Asia Minor by way of the old North Aegean coast route. Fragments of the main body of invaders may have reached Greece proper.

Over and upon this early stratum of peoples came a later wave or series of waves of people who belonged to substantially the same stock. With this stratum must be associated the names of peoples such as the Paeonians, the Pierians, Eordaeans and Bottiaeans, who all lived after their arrival in the lowlands round Olympus, and the Makedni who displaced them. All these five peoples (and with them, no doubt, were others) belonged to a later wave which penetrated much farther into Greece. The Makedni reached Pindus,<sup>4</sup> where they were identified as the Dorians. The whole Dorian invasion, in fact, belonged to and was

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Amphipolis—Krademna—Anadraimos—? Myrkinos (Steph. Byz.), Pella—Bounomos, Steph. Byz., Edessa—Aigae—Vodena (Hesychius).

<sup>2</sup> Thus the city of Edessa was said to be Phrygian (Schol. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 5. 243), while below it in the rose gardens of Midas, which to-day bloom not unworthily in the valleys of Naoussa and Vertekop, the story of the capture of Silenus by King Midas had its home; it was later found again at Angora in Asia Minor (Aelian).

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, VII. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, I. 56, and Suidas, s.v. *Δόριον*.

derived from this second wave of invasion. The Makedni of Pindus, however, seem to have got left behind by the main body of invaders, who went further south into Greece. They developed and increased to a remarkable extent in the regions south of Olympus. The remarkable discoveries of M. Arvanitopoulos at Pherae<sup>1</sup> show beyond doubt that a vigorous culture, almost identical with the culture of the earlier strata at Sparta, flourished in Eastern Thessaly. The occurrence of a sanctuary dedicated (on the evidence of later inscriptions) to Zeus Thaulios, and the nature of the dedicatory objects, emphasises the connexion with the Dorians. Zeus Thaulios was apparently a Dorian cult,<sup>2</sup> while amongst the dedications were four ivory couchant animals identical with those from Sparta, Egyptian faïence beads and scarabs, ivory spectacle brooches of the Sparto-Ephesian type, and finally a lead figurine of a known Spartan type.

The prosperity of this Makednian enclave in Thessaly led, however, to its expansion, and such expansion could only take place at the expense of other tribes of the same body of invaders. Thus the Makedni or their descendants seem to have returned on their tracks and to have pushed northwards again, for Thucydides<sup>3</sup> expressly tells us that 'Macedonia along the sea-coast was first occupied and ruled by Alexander the father of Perdiccas and his forbears, who were, of old, Temenids from Argos. They drove out by force the Pierians from Pieria, the Bottiaians from Bottiaea; . . . Paeonia they occupied along the banks of the Axios (Vardar) as far down as to the sea, and beyond the Axios they occupied the land called Mygdonia between the Axios and the Strymon, and drove out the Edonians.'

The invasion of the 'forbears of Alexander,' whom we cannot unreasonably associate with the Makedni, was thus represented in antiquity as the converse, as it were, of the 'Return of the Heraclids.' The Makedni, in fact, had pushed south in an invasion from the north; later, like the Heraclids of legend, they returned. Their real return, however, was represented as an invasion from the south of people of Argive origin. The intention, no doubt, was to vindicate the Hellenic

<sup>1</sup> Not yet published. I had the privilege of seeing the objects found, in the Volo Museum in July of this year, and have to express my thanks to M. Arvanitopoulos for permission to refer to them.

<sup>2</sup> Hesychius, s.v. Θαύλια.

<sup>3</sup> Thucydides, II. 99.

origin of the Macedonians. The Heraclids, on the other hand, were real invaders from the north whose barbarian nature was disguised in the form of 'returning wanderers.' The two stories dovetail conveniently into the main *apologia* for Barbarism.

We thus get two main waves of invasion and subsidiary local movements in local cultural areas. The earlier of the two waves does not seem to have penetrated into the heart of the Greek mainland, but to have been deflected for the most part to the east and to Asia Minor. It must have taken place early in the second millennium before Christ. Its northern connexions are indicated in the very close parallels between the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery that has so far been found in Macedonia and that of Bosnia and Hungary.<sup>1</sup> The second wave of invasion, which belongs properly to the Iron Age, must have commenced at the end of the second millennium and have reached its fullest force during the first century of the first millennium. The northern flavour of the culture it represents is most marked, and both at Pateli and Chauchitsa we find late developments of it almost untouched by influences from the south. Only on the coast of the Thermaic gulf near Salonika do we find it at last definitely in touch with things Hellenic at the dawn of the historic period.<sup>2</sup> In the same way the preceding wave had met Mediterranean influences in the same area at the end of the Third Late Minoan period. The Mycenaean pottery found on the Salonika littoral is evidence enough for this.<sup>3</sup>

It seems clear, then, that the Chauchitsa culture belongs to the period between 1100 B.C. and about 650 B.C. Bronzes of a slightly later form than those of Chauchitsa have been found in tombs at Kalamaria<sup>4</sup> associated with Corinthian pottery, at Aivasil<sup>5</sup> with sub-Geometric pottery, and in the Struma Valley<sup>6</sup> with actual Geometric pottery. This gives a fairly definite *terminus ante quem* for the Chauchitsa culture. The cothon type of vessel found alike at Chauchitsa, Aivasil and Kalamaria is additional proof. The *terminus post quem* is at present a matter of conjecture. Nothing found at Chauchitsa can yet be placed earlier than the eighth or ninth centuries, but it must be

<sup>1</sup> B.S.A. xxiii. p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. in the tombs opened at Kalamaria by M. Pelekides.

<sup>3</sup> B.S.A. xxiii. p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> B.S.A. xxiii. p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Now in the Prefecture at Salonika.

<sup>6</sup> A grave group now in the British Museum.

remembered that the stratified site has not yet been examined and we have only the evidence of the burials. But even in the burials there seem to be two periods, one of the mound burials, the earlier, and one, the later, to which the Slab Grave belongs. But even in the Slab Grave there was a vase which retains sub-Mycenaean characteristics, and in the mound burials there occurred vessels still more characteristic of this phase of pottery.

The small vases of Class A with cut-away necks belong, I think, to a very early tradition, and must be derived from types of the second millennium. Their strongly mikrasiatic flavour, and their similarity to wares from Troy, Yortan and other sites, suggests at once some connexion with the earlier wave of invasion which brought the Briges to Macedonia and sent them on to Asia Minor. The occurrence at Volo of a large series of similar vases, but wheel-made and elaborately decorated with black glaze patterns, in association with fully-developed Geometric pottery,<sup>1</sup> and the isolated examples from Halos and Skyros, similarly associated, gives the final survival of this type of pottery, in association with the second wave of invasion.

The large two-handled bowls of Class B of thin fine fabric and with red-glaze painted designs and the grey wares of Class C introduce an entirely new tradition which has, I think, no relation with the first wave of invasion. In the large red bowls we may, perhaps, see the beginnings of Hellenic Geometric ware before it had reached its fullest capacity for design. The shapes, as well as whatever rudimentary design there may be, are Geometric. The makers of these vessels, when they had reached an area where the pottery-making tradition was strong, may have produced finer and more elaborately decorated ware, as, for instance, in the case of Dipylon pottery, which is essentially a pottery of new shapes inheriting the elements of old design. The same process is seen at Vrokastro in Crete.<sup>2</sup> Actual Hellenic relations or anticipations are seen in the one-handled cantharoi of clumsy make which are characteristic of Chauchitsa.

There remains the rather dubious attribution to historic peoples of the wares and ornaments of Chauchitsa. I have already suggested the

<sup>1</sup> Recently discovered by M. Arvanitopoulos and not yet published.

<sup>2</sup> *Excavations in Eastern Crete: Vrokastro*. University of Pennsylvania Publications, Vol. iii. No. 1.

earlier connexion of the older traditions in pottery with the Briges. The later pottery tradition and the bronze and other metal work, coming, as it does, actually into touch with historic Macedonia of the seventh century, suggests association either with the Macedonians or the Makedni of Alexander I. and his forbears, or with the tribes they pushed to the east. Since a substantially similar culture to that of Chauchitsa has been revealed at Pateli just beyond the western end of the Haliacmon and Vardar plain, as well as in the Struma valley, and since this culture seems somewhat different from that of Pherae and Volo, we can associate it perhaps with the Eordaeans in the case of Pateli, and with the Edonians of Mygdonia in the case of the other sites. It would, however, be rash to draw any very marked distinction between the culture of the Macedonians of Alexander and his forbears and the almost identical culture of the tribes they displaced. Further excavation alone can elucidate these points.

S. CASSON.



## THE BATTLEFIELD OF PHARSALOS.

(PLATE II.)

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THE dead of Pharsalos sleep sound; but more than a century ago their battlefield began to walk; and since Leake a dozen scholars in succession have found it in as many different places, over an area of forty miles by ten.

I must apologise for introducing yet another claimant theory, but I have at least aimed also at reducing the total by the abolition of one or two of its wilder predecessors. I propose, then, to summarise the ancient evidence,<sup>1</sup> to state and criticise the theories based on it, and to conclude with a new attempt at solution, checked by walking over the plains of Pharsalos.

Far the first, then, among our authorities stands of course Caesar himself (*Bellum Civile*, III. 81-98). After the occupation of Gomphoi and Metropolis, all the states of Thessaly, except Larissa, had declared for him. Accordingly, 'having found a convenient position in the Thessalian plain,'<sup>2</sup> he sat down there to wait for Pompey and the final decision. A few days later Pompey marched south to Larissa and joined Scipio. When next heard of, their army is encamped opposite Caesar on a hill.<sup>3</sup>

But it was in vain that Caesar offered battle; Pompey used to draw up his line at the foot of the mountain<sup>4</sup> in a position which even Caesar dared not attack. In reply, Caesar prepared to withdraw and adopt a policy of rapid movement, with a triple object. It would simplify his corn-supply; he might manoeuvre Pompey into a position where he

<sup>1</sup> As regards the summary which follows I must acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Dr. Rice-Holmes' article in the *Classical Quarterly* of October, 1908, where full references to all previous literature will be found.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar, *Bellum Civile*, III. 81. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 85. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 85. 1.

would have to fight; and the hardships of endless marching (as anyone who has footed the Thessalian plain will only too vividly realise) would tell on Pompey's green levies. But at the very moment when he was starting it was seen that the enemy had advanced so unusually far from their camp as to make a fair fight possible. Pompey's partisans and his own infatuated self-confidence had, in fact, decided him.

The Pompeian right was covered by a 'stream with difficult banks';<sup>1</sup> his cavalry, archers and slingers were massed on his left. To meet them Caesar placed his far inferior cavalry on the right; his left rested on the stream.

At the outset Pompey's cavalry, according to plan, drove back their opponents and threatened to envelop Caesar's right. But six legionary cohorts kept in hand by Caesar as a reserve fourth line, equally according to plan, flung themselves on the victorious cavalry, which broke and fled 'into some very high mountains,'<sup>2</sup> cut up the light troops, turned Pompey's left, and the day was won. The defeated fled to their camp, thence after a brief resistance 'into some very high mountains adjoining it.'<sup>3</sup> Pompey himself rode out of the rear gate for Larissa. Caesar next proceeded to invest the mountain; but its defenders, finding it waterless, fled in time along the ridges towards Larissa. In vain; 'by an easier route,'<sup>4</sup> six miles in length, Caesar headed them off and brought them to bay on a hill, with a stream at its foot.<sup>5</sup> Cut off from the water by an earthwork, at dawn next day they surrendered and came down into the plain. Caesar sent back his tired troops to camp, ordered up fresh, and the same day rode into Larissa.

Now admirably graphic and succinct as Caesar's narrative is, on one ground one must criticise it, even if one does so according to Goethe's precept, 'on one's knees.' Topographically it is very defective, even for an ancient writer. Classical historians did not write for readers with atlases and map-measurers; in consequence they underrated topography nearly as much, perhaps, as we overrate it. But with all allowance for this and for hasty composition, it is astonishing to find that, for all the evidence in Caesar, the battle might have been fought almost anywhere between Metropolis and Larissa. The facts speak for themselves; even

<sup>1</sup> Caesar, *Bellum Civile*, III. 88. 6: '*rivus quidam impeditis ripis.*'

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 93. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 95. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 97. 3.: '*commodiore itinere.*'

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 97. 4: '*Hunc montem flumen sublebat.*'

though we have the supplementary evidence of other ancient writers, there are to-day a dozen rival sites in the field.

To proceed to this supplementary evidence. First, although the battle is generally called after Pharsalos, four writers—the author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum*,<sup>1</sup> Frontinus,<sup>2</sup> Eutropius<sup>3</sup> and Orosius<sup>4</sup>—place it more definitely at *Old Pharsalos*.

Secondly, Plutarch adds the following definite details:—

The battle was fought near Pharsalos.<sup>5</sup>

Pompey's camp was close to marshy ground;<sup>6</sup> and Brutus escaped from it by a gate leading to a place full of reeds and water, whence he fled by night to Larissa.<sup>7</sup>

Caesar was expecting Cornificius with two legions from Illyricum, and had at call Calenus with fifteen cohorts in Attica and the Megarid.

Lastly, the direction in which Caesar was just marching off on the morning of the battle was 'towards Skotoussa.'<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere<sup>9</sup> he adds that the tents were already being struck and the transport being sent on ahead. This most vital piece of evidence has been used only by Leake and misused by him.<sup>10</sup>

Frontinus states that Pompey placed six hundred cavalry on his right, resting that wing on the Enipeus, 'which both by its bed and its overflow had rendered the place impassable.'<sup>11</sup> Caesar likewise had his left covered 'by marshes.'

Lucan too names the river and mentions its marshiness.<sup>12</sup> More to our purpose still would be Appian, were he not geographically so disreputable. He says that Caesar reached Pharsalos in seven marches from Gomphoi, that there were thirty stades between the hostile camps, and that the armies were ranged between Pharsalos and the Enipeus.<sup>13</sup>

Lastly, Dio Cassius accuses Pompey of having chosen a bad camp with no line of retreat.<sup>14</sup> Considering, however, how far the leaderless fugitives actually succeeded in retreating, I doubt if this is more than Cassian rhetoric, prophetic after the event.

<sup>1</sup> 48.1.      <sup>2</sup> *Strategemata*, 2. 3. 22.

<sup>3</sup> 20.

<sup>4</sup> 6.15. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Caesar*, 52. and *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *Brutus*, 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Caesar*, 43: ἐπὶ Ἰκονόουσις.

<sup>9</sup> *Pompey*, 68.

<sup>10</sup> And since, I find, by General Chatzimichales.

<sup>11</sup> *Strategemata*, 2. 3. 22: 'qui et alveo et alluvie regionem impediērat.'

<sup>12</sup> 7. 116, 224-6: At iuxta fluvios et stagna undantis Enipei Cappadocum montana cohors et liber habenae Ponticus ibit eques.

<sup>13</sup> *Bellum Civile*, II. 64-5; 75.

<sup>14</sup> 42. 1. 3.

Such is our evidence—some of it, but certainly not a great deal, discrepant. Can there really be ten or eleven valid solutions of the problem as stated?

For the sake of brevity I have tabulated the various theories in a standard form.<sup>1</sup>

The first is Leake's.<sup>2</sup> His identifications are as follows:—

1. Palaiopharsalos—the Acropolis of Pharsalos, or 'the fortress of which remains still exist half a mile to the eastward of the Acropolis of Pharsalos.'

2. Pompey's camp—the heights east of Pharsalos (Krinter).

3. Caesar's camp—'Hadjéverli,'<sup>3</sup> at the foot of the height three miles west of Pharsalos (Alogopati).

4. The battle line—Enipeus—Pharsalos.

5. The '*mons sine aqua*'<sup>4</sup>—Sourla.

6. { Hill of Capitulation<sup>5</sup>—near Skotoussa.

{ River of Capitulation—the Onochonus.

To this scheme I find the following objections; and the chief among them apply equally to most subsequent theories, which can accordingly be dealt with much more shortly.

1. The site of Palaiopharsalos is important. The battle commonly called 'of Pharsalos' is, as we have seen, placed specifically by four writers 'at Palaiopharsalos.' No discrepancy need be involved.<sup>6</sup> 'Pharsalos' may sometimes be short for 'Old Pharsalos'; but in most cases, no doubt, reference is made to New Pharsalos, because the two places were close together and the new city was famous, the old obscure. What does matter is the inference that the battle must have been fought nearer Old Pharsalos than New, for the old town to be mentioned at all.

To cite a parallel case, Alexander's victory is called after both the

<sup>1</sup> The lines with figures (1-8) on Pl. II. mark the lines of battle of the armies, as placed by (1) Leake and Kromayer, (2) Von Goeler, (3) Mommsen, (4) Heuzey, (5) Stoffel, (6) Rice-Holmes, (7) Chatzimichales, (8) the Author.

<sup>2</sup> *N. Greece*, IV. 477-84.

<sup>3</sup> There is apparently no such place. But Leake's intention is clear; see Pl. II.

<sup>4</sup> Caesar, *B. C.* III. 97. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 97. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Thus, as Dr. Rice-Holmes has pointed out, the *Bellum Alexandrinum* speaks both of '*Palaeopharsalus*' and '*proelis Pharsalici*' (43. 2).

village of Gaugamela and the town of Arbela, because the actual site was close to Gaugamela and sixty-five kilometres from Arbela.

This, as Dr. Rice-Holmes has pointed out, excludes all sites immediately under the walls of New Pharsalos and squares with Caesar's own omission to mention that city at all. True, when Appian says the armies were ranged between Pharsalos and the Enipeus, he almost certainly means New Pharsalos; indeed, if Old Pharsalos was where I think it was—on Heuzey's site, Koutouri, right on the river bank<sup>1</sup>—this must be so. But then that is just how bad authorities transferred the battle of Gaugamela to the neighbourhood of Arbela. And after all, Appian!—who put Saguntum north of the Ebro, a mere fifteen hundred kilometres of error.

The mistake seems explicable. Ignorant of Old Pharsalos but knowing that the battle was both near 'Pharsalos' and near the Enipeus, since city and river are over two miles apart, Appian might easily jump to the wrong conclusion that the armies must have stood *between* them.

Where then was Old Pharsalos? Of fortress remains 'one mile east of the Acropolis of Pharsalos' I know nothing, but that Palaiopharsalos cannot be identified with the Acropolis itself, follows both from its use as an *alternative* name for the battle and still more clearly from Strabo's statement<sup>2</sup> that the Thetideion was 'near both the Pharsaloi, the old and the new.' Not even a sevenpenny novelist would describe a place as 'near both Charing Cross and the Strand.'

2. Pompey's camp on Krinter. Here, as Socrates might have said, rises a yet greater and more formidable wave—the whole question: 'Was the battle on the north bank of the Enipeus or on the south?' The matter has been very convincingly discussed by Dr. Rice-Holmes in the article referred to. A century ago, indeed, Sir William Napier had already condemned the notion that Pompey would or could have risked crossing a river, which is a serious obstacle, under Caesar's eyes, or that the incident could have been completely ignored by every authority from Caesar on. What indeed did Pompey expect to gain, one asks, by sitting down with a river in his rear, Caesar in front, and a hostile city on his flank?

Imagine the situation. For A it is a matter of life and death to get

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> IX. 5. 6.

B to fight; whereas B knows his best policy is not to fight. And yet we are asked to believe that A lurked behind a difficult river, while B marched down from the hills and across this obstacle, as helplessly as a fascinated ape into the serpent's jaws!

As regards the Enipeus, indeed, I must here enter a caution in fairness to the other side. Both the river and its banks have so risen in the course of controversy that the unprotected reader pictures a sort of Colorado Cañon. 'Down banks twenty feet high, across a river seventy yards wide,' Pompey had no need to come. Between Orman Magoula and Pharsalos, the stretch here in question, the banks are as often twenty centimetres as 'twenty feet'; it is only the outer bank of each bend that is steep and high. Consequently, at the frequent S-shaped bends it is a simple matter to cross from one low bank to the other; and even the high stretches (6-18 feet) have a number of breaches. Fords are not scarce, and even in April I have waded across in three places without being wetted above the knee.

Still the Enipeus remains, I think, too serious an obstacle for Pompey to have crossed under Caesar's eyes. But let us grant for a moment that possibility—we are at once in a dilemma. How can the same stretch of river be both so passable for an army with all its impedimenta that they can cross in the presence of an active enemy and yet so impassable to unencumbered cavalry in action as to protect the flank of each side in the battle? This is what Leake's theory, like Stoffel's and Dr. Kromayer's after him, implies. The truth I believe to be exactly the reverse. The Enipeus between Pharsalos and Orman Magoula is too much of an obstacle for Pompey (before the days of artillery) to have crossed; but it is not obstacle enough to have secured his flank and Caesar's against cavalry attack.

To placing Pompey's camp on Krinter in particular, there is the further objection that the place is too rocky to permit the construction of a *fossa* and *vallum*, yet too accessible to be defensible without. I do not indeed believe that no Roman general ever pillowed his head in his *praetorium* without knowing that he was duly enclosed by a regulation ditch and rampart with a text-book stockade. But if he dispensed with these it must have been on ground where steepness compensated for stoniness. In spite of Dr. Kromayer, Krinter is no place for a camp; it lacks a natural rampart and forbids an artificial one.

4. The line of battle. Here too arises an objection which seems fatal not only to Leake's but to most subsequent theories.

Caesar plainly says<sup>1</sup> that after his occupation of Gomphoi and Metropolis the whole of Thessaly except Larissa, which was held by Scipio, declared for him.<sup>2</sup> There may have been other minor exceptions; but Pharsalos, close at hand and the one peer of Larissa, could not possibly have been an unmentioned one.

If then Pharsalos was Caesarian, is it conceivable that any general could go blithely into battle resting one wing on the walls of a hostile city, whose gates might in the crisis of the struggle vomit detachments of the enemy on his flank—in this case his decisive flank—and rear? If the insignificant Gomphoi was strong enough to defy Caesar single-handed could Pompey, with Caesar in front of him, ignore the chief city of South Thessaly upon his flank? As easily ignore an enfilading machine-gun. Yet to not one of the learned generals and warlike professors who for a century have discussed the battle with scathing or supercilious criticism of its leaders' tactics, does this rudimentary consideration seem to have occurred.<sup>3</sup>

Alike the literary evidence about *Old* Pharsalos and the most obvious military reasons, then, make it incredible that the battle can have been fought under the walls of *New* Pharsalos.

There is yet another objection to Leake's and later theories. Plutarch, as we have seen, says that Caesar was just sending on his transport 'towards Skotoussa.' Now to push transport or even troops in column, as Cleon found at Amphipolis, across the front, much more towards the rear, of an opponent, particularly an opponent superior in cavalry, is a proceeding varying according to circumstances from precarious to mad. The natural inference from this move of Caesar's is that Skotoussa lay probably somewhere to *his* rear, or at any rate not towards Pompey's.

6. The flight of the Pompeians. There is first of all the difficulty of their flight, apparently without incident, across the river in their rear.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. III. 81. 2.

<sup>2</sup> So Appian (B. C. 2. 88) says that Caesar conferred freedom after the battle on the Thessalians 'συνμαχέσθαιτες οί'; and Pliny (4. 8. 15) mentions Pharsalos as a 'libera civitas.'

<sup>3</sup> I see since that General Dousmanes makes the fact that Pharsalos was Caesarian a reason for placing the battle by Karditsa, forty-five kilometres further west.

Further, Leake's theory implies that they fled from Sourla along the heights to eastward, thence north to Skotoussa; but Caesar plainly says that they withdrew from the '*mons sine aqua*' 'by the ridges *towards Larissa*.' To describe a movement to the east as '*towards Larissa*' would be like saying 'they fled along the Thames in the direction of Northampton.' Again, the heights east of Sourla trend north and south across their track; and Caesar's words certainly more naturally convey the picture of fugitives running *along* a ridge or ridges.

Finally, the length of Caesar's '*commodius iter*' to near Skotoussa works out at nine miles instead of six; and there is in that neighbourhood no proper plain ('*in planitiem descendere*').

The next theory is General von Goeler's,<sup>1</sup> as follows:—

1. Palaiopharsalos—no site proposed.
2. Pompey's camp—on the ridge of Kynoskephalai.
3. Caesar's camp—just north of the Enipeus.
4. Battle line—between Kynoskephalai and the Enipeus, with one flank resting on an imaginary stream (in Kromayer's map), or perhaps on the stream of Orman Magoula (Rice-Holmes).
5. '*Mons sine aqua*'—no site proposed.
6. { Hill of Capitulation—as Leake.  
   { River of Capitulation—as Leake.

To this there are the following objections:—

2. Pompey's camp. Von Goeler's site is at least strategically sane; but in all the vague hill-country of the Kynoskephalai, nowhere west or south of Skotoussa are there any '*montes*,' certainly no '*montes altissimi*.'

Secondly, Caesar's move on Skotoussa is again a difficulty.

4. The battle line. Von Goeler had bad maps and never visited the ground; there is nothing near the line of his flanking river but brooks, none of which would stop the most hydrophobic of cavalry.

6. The line of flight is not '*towards Larissa*.'

Next comes Mommsen,<sup>2</sup> who has '*contaminated*' the less probable parts of the two preceding—Pompey's camp on Kynoskephalai from Von Goeler, the battle south of the river from Leake.

<sup>1</sup> *Caesar's Gallischer Krieg*, etc., II. (1880).

<sup>2</sup> *Römische Geschichte*, III. (1889), 424, 428.



1. Palaiopharsalos—no site proposed.
2. Pompey's camp—on the slope of Kynoskephalai.
3. Caesar's camp—between Pharsalos and the Enipeus.
4. Battle line—Pompeian right on the Enipeus, 'their faces towards Pharsalos.'
5. '*Mons sine aqua*'—no site proposed.
6. { Hill of Capitulation—'the heights of Krannon and Skotoussa.'
- { River of Capitulation—'the only rivulet to be found in the neighbourhood.'

This is all extremely unsatisfactory. Where are the '*montes altissimi*'? How could Pompey both rest his right on the river and face Pharsalos, even supposing him rashly to have first put the Enipeus between him and his camp?

As for the flight the details are meaninglessly vague.

More explicit and even more desperate is M. Léon Heuzey:—<sup>1</sup>

1. Palaiopharsalos—Koutouri.
2. Pompey's camp—valley south-west of Pharsalos.
3. Caesar's camp—Nkousgounari.
4. Battle line—running east and west, with Pompey's right and Caesar's left resting on the *Phersalitis*.<sup>2</sup>
5. '*Mons sine aqua*'—Alogopati.
6. { Hill of Capitulation—'Karadza-Achmet,' hill south-east of Kato-Derenkli.
- { River of Capitulation—the Enipeus.

To this there are these objections.

1. The identification of Koutouri with Palaiopharsalos is, I think, right. But if so the battle must be placed nearer to it than to Pharsalos, not half-way between.

2. Pompey's camp. Heuzey's strategy is perhaps the wildest of all. Each army sits gaily on the other's communications.

Now 'communications' may be lines of supply, of intelligence, or both. Caesar, with a compacter, wirier army, an exhausted country behind him and in a district which could for the moment support him,

<sup>1</sup> *Les opérations militaires de J. César*, 104–35.

<sup>2</sup> Called 'Apidanos' in the Greek Staff Map. '*Pharsalos*,' 1911.

was probably independent of lines of supply; yet even he had touch to keep with Cornificius in Illyricum and Calenus in Central Greece. But surely it is a masterpiece of *Professorenstrategie* to make Pompey, with double the regular troops, hordes of auxiliaries, and a staff of luxurious *émigrés*, maroon himself in the midst of the Caesarian Pharsalia, to live on quails and manna?

But, proceeds Heuzey, he had communications with the Gulf of Pagasai as well as Larissa. A line of communication running commodiously enough, we observe, between Caesar's camp and Caesarian Pharsalos! Besides, Thessaly, except Larissa, was Caesarian; and on Heuzey's view one cannot understand the fugitives not fleeing towards Pherai and Pagasai rather than Larissa.

Lastly, if in this valley, Pompey's camp was not '*in colle*.'

4. The battle line. Heuzey's flanking river is not the Enipeus but the much smaller Pheralitis. From what I have seen of it I doubt if the Pheralitis is at all an adequate obstacle; still there may have been climatic changes or phenomenal floods. Unfortunately even this is not enough, since the Pheralitis flows across the front of the armies instead of along their flank. But M. Heuzey's is the faith that moves rivers. 'Its waters,' says he, 'no longer follow their natural and primitive course'—the river which now flows west, in 48 B.C. flowed north. 'O earth, what changes!'

If we ask what stimulated M. Heuzey's imagination to these flights, we find it was the presence of tumuli hereabouts. But Thessaly is stuffed with tumuli, often prehistoric. Their evidence, short of actual excavation, is worthless; and on excavation Heuzey's tumuli revealed, it appears, only Byzantine coins and pottery, with cinders and white dust below—which were good enough for M. Heuzey to identify with his lost legionaries. Still, between perverse rivers that take to un-'natural' courses and perverse Byzantines who persist in burying themselves in one's tumuli, 'archaeology,' one feels, 'is a hard life.'

6. The line of flight. It is perhaps hardly necessary after all this to point out that the fugitives do not flee '*Larissam versus*,' and that the distance from the '*mons sine aqua*' to the hill of capitulation is nearly ten Roman miles instead of six

Next comes Colonel Stoffel,<sup>1</sup> a confident person. 'Of all unidentified

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de J. César—Guerre Civile*, II. (1887).

battlefields Pharsalos is the easiest to find; no one with any knowledge of war could fail to discover it in half a day.' His scheme is as follows :—

1. Palaiopharsalos—between Lazar Mpouga and Orman Magoula.
2. Pompey's camp—west of Kato-Derenkli.
3. Caesar's camp—north of Krinter.
4. Battle line—south of Lazar Mpouga.
5. '*Mons sine aqua*'—south-east of Kato-Derenkli (point 340).
6. { Hill of Capitulation—east end of Kato-Derenkli.  
   { River of Capitulation—Enipeus (as Heuzey).

The objections to Pompey's crossing the Enipeus and Caesar's moving towards Skotoussa past his flank remain unmet.

The space between the high ground and the river is, according to Dr. Kromayer, insufficient. It may be so; but it is easy to overstress statistics which try to establish the frontage of armies in battle with as much nicety as if they were being marched on their markers in a barrack square.

But it is a more serious difficulty that Stoffel can only stretch to six miles the distance from his '*mons sine aqua*' to the place of surrender by making Caesar dash to and fro across the Enipeus—a quaint procedure to describe as '*commodiorem itinere*.'

Finally, the line of flight simply is not '*Larisam versus*.'

Far acuter is Dr. Kromayer's scheme<sup>1</sup> which combines Leake's battle with Stoffel's flight.

His identifications are :—

1. Palaiopharsalos—no site proposed.
2. Pompey's camp—Krinter.
3. Caesar's camp—north-west of Pharsalos.
4. Battle line—Pharsalos—Enipeus.
5. '*Mons sine aqua*'—Sourla.
6. { Hill of Capitulation—south-east of Kato-Derenkli.  
   { River of Capitulation—Enipeus.

But the main objections to Leake and Stoffel remain unanswered.

Thus Dr. Kromayer admits that Pompey had small chance of

<sup>1</sup> *Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland*, II. 401-443.

retreating from south of the Enipeus. 'But,' he urges, 'had this retreat any further value? In the whole Orient there were no more reinforcements to fall back upon.' Considering the amount of trouble the East was to give Caesar after Pharsalos, this is rather an assumption. 'That the constitution of Pompey's army,' he continues, 'would have been strong enough to stand at all a retreat through Macedonia and Thrace to Asia, even the greatest optimist will be unwilling to believe. It was "Victory or Annihilation," if it came to a battle.'

Now it may have been Dr. Kromayer's habit in argument to adopt the tactics of the forlorn hope and burn his boats; it is not that of generals in civilised warfare with odds of two to one on their side. Why an unsuccessful engagement must needs be more fatal to Pompey at Pharsalos than it had already been to Caesar at Dyrrhachium, and would be again before Thapsus, I cannot see.

Dr. Kromayer too has not quite escaped the lure of tumuli. He notes two, and of one of them he adds, '*daneben Stelle mit ausnehmend fettem Korn.*' Are we really to imagine after two thousand years a *Massengrab* of legionaries still blessing with miraculous fatness the fields of Pharsalos? Argument is dumb.

Nor has Dr. Kromayer dealt with Palaiopharsalos, or shown how Pompey could fight under Pharsalos or Caesar push past him towards Skotoussa. The problem remains where he found it.

Dr. Rice-Holmes, on the other hand, in his article in the *Classical Quarterly*,<sup>1</sup> has broken quite new ground with the following scheme:—

1. Palaiopharsalos—north of the Enipeus.
  2. Pompey's camp—on the slopes of Kynoskephalai between Orman Magoula and Douvlatan.
  3. Caesar's camp—on hills south of the plain of Ineli.
  4. Battle line—east of the Enipeus.
  5. '*Mons sine aqua*'
  6. Hill of Capitulation
- } not defined.

In reply it is hard not to complain that Dr. Rice-Holmes, after proving with the tongues of angels that the battle was on the north bank of the Enipeus, should have himself proceeded to place it on the east.

<sup>1</sup> 1908, pp. 271 ff.

The objections are :—

1. Palaiopharsalos. It is necessary, if the battle is to be connected with Palaiopharsalos, to locate the town east of the Larissa-Pharsalos road. Otherwise it is too far away. But, for reasons given below, it was probably west of this road.

2. Pompey's camp. There are, to begin with, no '*montes altissimi*' in all the low rambling slopes about Orman Magoula and Douvlatan.

Next, how could Caesar's transport move on Skotoussa directly in Pompey's rear?

Thirdly, what strategic purpose could be served by both armies shifting so far to east of the main roads south from Larissa?

4. The battle line. I have already said that the banks of the Enipeus north of the battlefields of Leake, Mommsen, Stoffel and Dr. Kromayer are too discontinuous to be in my opinion an effective defence against cavalry. West of the plain of Ineli the banks are indeed higher, but even here they are not continuous.

Lastly, the line of flight is not very satisfactory. There are, as I say, no '*montes altissimi*' to the north, the ridges run east and west, and it is hard to see where Caesar can have found a '*commodius iter*' or the Pompeians a plain into which to descend.

Reference may also be made in passing to a monograph by General Dousmanes,<sup>1</sup> who is much exercised in mind at seeing the defence of Hellas endangered by the false military lessons drawn from a false location of the battlefield. Cutting the knot, he transfers the site to the other end of Thessaly, the neighbourhood of Metropolis, south-west of the modern Karditsa. The hill of capitulation he puts south of Mataranga, beside the river Sophaditikos.

The only arguments adduced are the silence of Caesar as to any advance from Metropolis, and the general worthlessness of Appian. Frontinus and Palaiopharsalos are ignored. Since Caesar mentions no advance of Pompey from Larissa either, there is as much and as little ground for putting the battle there. It is seventeen kilometres instead of nine (six Roman miles) from General Dousmanes' battlefield to his hill of surrender; and between them are no ridges, only a plain as flat as a table. This is not a very valuable contribution to the subject.

<sup>1</sup> Παράτησις διὰ προσδιορισμὸν τοῦ πεδίου μάχης Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρος, Athens, 1900.

Finally, I am indebted to the kindness of General Chatzimichales, late Chief of the General Staff of the Greek Army, for permission to discuss his theory of the battle, which is as follows :—

1. Palaiopharsalos—Pharsalos.
2. Pompey's camp—west of Pharsalos.
3. Caesar's camp—north of Alogopati.
4. Battle line—south of the Phersalitis.
5. '*Mons sine aqua*'—hill west of the Acropolis of Pharsalos, south of Pompey's camp.
6. { Hill of Capitulation—south-east of Kato-Derenkli.  
    { River of Capitulation—Enipeus.

But the old objections—that Palaiopharsalos cannot be part of or next to Pharsalos, that Pompey could not sit down under the walls of Pharsalos, and that the flight is not '*Larisam versus*'—still remain.

Further, as his '*mons sine aqua*' is only 236 metres high, General Chatzimichales has to read for '*altissimos montes*,' '*altiores*.'

But it is a better scheme than most.

So the battle sways east and north and west round Pharsalos; to the south a merciful Providence has placed mountains. One site remains unappropriated—the plain north of the Enipeus between Driskole and Mount Dogantzēs. Anyone who pushes its claims at this time of day will very naturally be suspected of a mere desire to differ—fruitful source of learned hypotheses. In fairness to my client I may be allowed to plead that I was driven to this view at an early stage, before I knew I was its first and only advocate. A visit to the ground has only confirmed me; and it was interesting to find that Mr. Apostolides, son of the large local landowner, the hospitality of whose farm at Tekēs I enjoyed, was convinced too that the site was by Driskole, for the very sound reason that neither the hills nor the river further east suit Caesar's description.

To begin with, since, as we have seen, the very obscurity of Palaiopharsalos guarantees its closeness to the battlefield, it seems worth while trying to identify it more definitely.

Now Strabo (9.5.6.), discussing the terms Phthia and Hellas in Homer, says, 'By Hellas some understand a district extending from Old Pharsalos to the Phthiotic Thebes. In this district stands too the

Thetideion, near both the Pharsaloi, the Old and the New; and from the Thetideion they infer that this region too formed part of the dominions of Achilles.'

The first natural inference is that if Old Pharsalos could be given as the extreme west boundary of Hellas, it must have been west of New Pharsalos. If so, we must abandon those theories which involve placing it east of the Larissa-Pharsalos road.

A little more light is thrown on its situation by the allusion to the Thetideion. The location of the Thetideion on the Kastro, point 269<sup>1</sup> (1800 metres N.N.E. of Mpekides), where there is still a well-marked rectangular platform covered with sherds, and where Heuzey<sup>2</sup> saw fragments of a Doric temple, agrees very well with the part it played in both battles of Kynoskephalai. Strabo's statement, as has been pointed out by others, implies that the two Pharsaloi must have been *some* distance apart; and it is also rather an odd way of putting things, if the Thetideion was very much nearer one of them than the other; for instance, if Palaiopharsalos was near Orman Magoula, nearly four times as close to the Thetideion as New Pharsalos.

Now the only plausible site so far suggested not merely west, but on any side of Pharsalos, is Heuzey's—the hill of Koutouri with its ancient ring wall.<sup>3</sup> It is about 12½ miles from the Thetideion, whereas New Pharsalos is about 6½ as the crow flies, 9½ by Pasa Magoula bridge (the shortest road). It is an isolated hill rising from a flat and fertile plain, in a way that recalls Tiryns, with a stream springing from its foot and close to an easy ford of the Enipeus. It stands at an important strategic point—as the remains of Greek forts on Dogantzes and Mavro Vouni also testify—where the immemorial route from North Greece to South, Larissa-Krannon-Thaumakoi-Lamia-Thermopylae, debouches from the hills on to the South Thessalian plain. There seems to me a good deal in favour of Koutouri being Old Pharsalos; and if so the battlefield must be looked for in its neighbourhood.

Other quite independent considerations point the same way.

Let us consider the strategic situation; first from Caesar's point of view. The morale of his army had recovered from the check at

<sup>1</sup> Greek Staff Map, 'Pharsalos,' 1/75,000; see map, Pl. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Mission en Macédoine*, p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> *Mission en Macédoine*, p. 411; Allen, *Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, pp. 125 ff.

Dyrrhachium, and his food supply was temporarily secure. But only temporarily; he was in a poor country, uniquely at the mercy of sea-power; and his enemies commanded the sea.

What moves remained? West lay the exhausted Epirus, south the *cul-de-sac* of Central Greece and the Peloponnesus, where in centuries to come Stilicho was to run Alaric to bay. Besides, further retreat was out of the question; he must fight and win quickly. To eastward the sea; to the north the plain of Larissa, probably swept bare by Pompey as a precaution, and beyond it, the mountain wall of Macedon and the Pompeian East. He was in danger of being trapped by Pompey in Thessaly as Hannibal by Fabius in Campania, without a chance of fighting on possible ground. For the present, too, he had Cornificius in Illyricum, Calenus in the south, to think of.

His only hope was in a battle, in the folly of his opponent. No wonder that Caesar was depressed; <sup>1</sup> he could only take up a position on one of the main roads south from Larissa and in a central position relatively to the rest. In the level fields of the Pharsalia, that lie around Koutouri with its fine observation and its water, at the foot of the hills where Pompey would emerge upon the plain, I find the '*idoneus locus in agris.*' Caesar must fight; and here, right in Pompey's way, not lurking behind the Enipeus or leaning up against the walls of Pharsalos, was the place to turn to bay.

Far simpler was Pompey's problem—had it been but a problem of generalship and not of controlling in addition flibbertigibbety nobles who wanted this season's figs at Tusculum. It was open to him to play Fabius to Caesar's Hannibal, but a Fabius without a Trebia or Trasimene behind him. In his own phrase, 'hunger was the weapon for wild beasts.' With a strong cavalry to harass Caesar's foraging and hasten the devastation of the Thessalian plain, he would wait while the West wavered, and Caesar's army, caged here in the East, either fell to pieces or was driven to attack him on impossibly unfavourable ground. Meanwhile opportunities might offer themselves for destroying Calenus and Cornificius in detail; Thaumakoi and Aiginion, at the mouths of their passes, were vulnerable points.

On the other hand, with a bulky army, a luxurious *noblesse* and perhaps reinforcements still to come from the East, Pompey must keep

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the story of Caesar and the soothsayer; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 43.



his line of communications. It was important to foil any repetition by Caesar of that dash between Pompey and his base at Dyrrhachium and to avoid being manoeuvred into a position where he would have to fight. Pompey does indeed appear to have become infected with his followers' over-confidence; but there is no question of his long reluctance to stake all. His policy was a defensive-offensive.

Accordingly, like Acilius Glabrio in 191 B.C. and many another before and since, he chose for his '*grande armée*' the great main road, the line of the modern railway, Larissa-Krannon-Thaumakoi; it was on this road that Caesar already lay; and the alternative route viâ Pharsalos was of course barred by that city.

Only, whereas the railway descends into the Pharsalia west of Mount Dogantzēs, the road <sup>1</sup> appears to have taken the shorter line east of the mountain. And on its south-east slope, accordingly, the Pompeians, wheeling out into view of Caesar by Koutouri, but safe on their higher ground, proceeded to dig their camp and secure their water-supply by a chain of posts <sup>2</sup> to the Enipeus. Here with a good and safe line of communication behind him Pompey could wait—if Favonius would let him—like the vulture for the dying man. The marshy ground which Plutarch mentions may well have been to southward by the river, and the village of Chatzompasi, where there stretch still ditches full of reeds and stagnant water; <sup>3</sup> or, less probably, in the depression on the east of Dogantzēs, between it and Mavro Vouni.<sup>4</sup>

Day after day Caesar vainly offered battle—Pompey's reply was to form his line before his camp at the foot of Dogantzēs, in a position where for Caesar a victory, certainly a decisive one, was almost out of the question. He was driven to change his tactics. He would move on Skotoussa, get across the other, the Larissa-Pharsalos main road, and—his old trick—swoop on Pompey's communications with Larissa.

It is vain to speculate on might-have-beens,—whether fear or love of Pompey or jealousy of Pharsalos might have kept Larissa staunch, whether Caesar would have starved in the plain of Larissa or Pompey on his hills. The point is that the move on Skotoussa becomes on this theory at least intelligible.

<sup>1</sup> So still in the Greek Staff Map of 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Or the '*castella*' Caesar mentions may have stretched to Pompey's left across the road at the mouth of the pass.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Frontinus, '*alveo et alluvie*' (cf. p. 36).

<sup>4</sup> Here Brutus may have fled (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 6).

It was not to be; Pompey, perhaps foreseeing his opponent's move, perhaps tempted by the chance of driving Caesar into the river in his rear, certainly pushed by the impatience of his followers, had decided to wait no longer.

It is easy to fit the episodes to their stage north-west of Koutouri.

First of all, the Enipeus has here not only higher banks than north of Pharsalos, but—what is to my mind far more important—they do form a continuous obstacle.

On the other flank the '*altissimi montes*' whither the Pompeian cavalry fled are the heights of the Mavro Vouni north-west of Kalogeros, conspicuous for their unusually accessible grass slopes, or perhaps Kalogeros itself.

Next, the Pompeian army broke and fled from the fields to its camp, from its camp up the side of Dogantzes. Its leader had already ridden out of the rear gate along the mountain slopes to the Larissa road. Caesar began his investment; the fugitives pressed north-east across the saddle and along the ridge parallel to the familiar road they had marched up so proudly a few days before.<sup>1</sup>

I have walked this ridge from end to end. It points directly '*Larissam versus*,' it is high enough to give protection, yet not so difficult as seriously to hinder flight.

But meanwhile Caesar had pushed by an easy road up the valley either of Psychiko or that of Doxara (the modern main road), and when the fugitives reached the point where the ridge sinks into the plain which stretches between them and the city, and on to the magnificent background of Olympus, they found once more the swords of the legions bright in the evening sun across their path.<sup>2</sup> At the hill's foot, masked by its trees, ran the little river Kapakle; but already the equally terrible spades of the Caesarians were busy with a rampart blocking their approach. At dawn they surrendered and were marched down into the plain; and the same day Caesar covered the fifteen kilometres that still separated him from Larissa.

This then is my suggested topography of the battle :—

<sup>1</sup> They may have hoped to find refuge of some sort in Krannon on their way.

<sup>2</sup> The distance of Caesar's march measured from the foot of Dogantzes by Pompey's camp is nine kilometres = six Roman miles. This signifies little in itself; but at least it does not assume with the levity of several previous theories that Caesar did not know what a mile was.

1. Palaiopharsalos—Koutouri.
2. Pompey's camp—south-east foot of Dogantzes.
3. Caesar's camp—north of the Enipeus, near Koutouri.
4. Battle line—north of the Enipeus and at right angles to it.
5. '*Mons sine aqua*'—Dogantzes.
6. { Hill of Capitulation—north-east end of the ridge north-east of Dogantzes (to be exact, the hill  $2\frac{1}{4}$  kilometres north-east of Doxará, just above the river, in the Greek Staff Map of 'Pharsalos').  
River of Capitulation—the Kapakle.

There are, of course, minor variant possibilities. Two ridges run north-east from Dogantzes; it may have been along the eastern, and not the western, of these that the Pompeians fled. The eastern is a good deal higher and steeper and it is even possible that the *mons sine aqua* was at its south end, not on Dogantzes. Similarly the stream at the foot of the hill may be another of the several which rise from springs in the ridgeland and flow north-east into the plain; for instance, that by Souletsi, which, though it soon loses itself in the plain, is not as insignificant as it looks on the map, and which I ascertained by definite inquiry to be constant even through the summer.

I favour the western ridge of the two, however, because it is nearer the main road by which the fugitives would remember coming, still more because, since Caesar's right wing was the first to be victorious, it must at an early stage have cut off the Pompeians from the eastern ridge.

Again, Pompey's camp may conceivably have been in the depression east of Dogantzes, directly astride the road; the objection is that this is not '*in colle*.' In any case it is a matter of only a few hundred yards.

It is my regret that, though I must have walked a hundred miles up and down and round the Pharsalia, I found no sign of Roman fortification.<sup>1</sup> But the Thessalian plain has been not only ploughed for twenty centuries since, but artificially ridged for drainage as well, with such plausible imitations of the decayed vallum of a Roman camp, that the ten-times deluded archaeologist comes to feel like the Forty Thieves looking for Ali Baba's house after Fatima had chalked every door in the city.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot attach any importance to the faint traces of a rampart on a little round hill south-east of Dogantzes,—a possible *castellum*.

And yet if one considers the proportion of Roman camps extant to the number that must have been constructed, the odds are clearly enormous against the survival of any particular two. However, it may be that some abler investigator will yet find them and solve the whole question; that some excavator still to come

' Exesa inveniet scabra robigne pila  
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,  
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.'

F. L. LUCAS.

## THE MACEDONIAN ERA.

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### II.

IN the last volume of this *Annual* (xxiii. 206 ff.) I attempted to restate the arguments for the view that the provincial era of Macedonia dates from 1st Dios, 148 B.C., and the Actian (or, to give it the name which it bore in Macedonia, the Augustan) era from 1st Dios, 32 B.C.

I mentioned (p. 210) Prof. M. Holleaux as having expressed in 1914 a doubt of the continued existence of separate Macedonian and Achaean eras running concurrently and a desire for further investigation of the question. This was, indeed, the starting-point of my own inquiry. I regret, however, that I overlooked a later statement of the same scholar (*Rev. Ét. Anc.* xix. 81), who in 1917 accepted as fully established the Macedonian era of 148 B.C., and pointed out that the Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy<sup>1</sup> proves that the defeat of Andriscus and the submission of Macedonia took place in that year (cf. Kornemann, *Die neue Livius-Epitome aus Oxyrhynchus*, 91 f., 113 f.). Further, in an article which became accessible to me only after my own discussion was already in print, Pomtow himself has declared in favour of the earlier starting-point of the Macedonian era, on the ground both of the Macedonian and also of the Delphian documents.<sup>2</sup>

To the kindness and learning of Dr. J. K. Fotheringham, whom I am glad to be able to reckon among the supporters of this view, I owe several valuable additions and corrections. *À propos* of the reference to Eusebius on p. 208, he writes: 'In common with Kubitschek, *s. v.* Aera, in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 636, and Ginzel, *Handbuch d. math.\*u. techn. Chronologie*, iii. (1914) 7, you give a reference to Eusebius' *Chronicle*, i. 241 f., ed. Schöne. Now the date appears twice in that neighbourhood, in the Greek text on 240, 242, and in the Armenian translation on 239 and 241. I suggest, therefore, that 240, 242 should be substituted for 241 f. Note that the date there given is the 4th year of the 157th Olympiad, *i. e.* 149/8 B.C. But these two statements ought to be supported by a third in the same *Chronicle*, viz. ii. 129 d, ed. Schöne (143 c,

<sup>1</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv. No. 668, ll. 100 ff., 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Klio*, xvi. 150 note, 155 ff.

ed. Helm, 1913), where a date is given equivalent to 150/49 B.C.' In the penultimate line of the text on p. 209 'Kubitschek' should be substituted for 'the same writer': the article referred to actually appeared in 1893, though the complete half-volume of Pauly-Wissowa containing it was not published until 1894. Ginzel, *op. cit.* iii. 7, accepts Kubitschek's results, and his name should be added to the list (which, of course, makes no pretensions to completeness) given in the first two lines of p. 210. On p. 215 I have referred to Porphyry as supporting Kubitschek's view; the passage alluded to is 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ Μακεδόνας ἀχαρίστους γενομένους διὰ τὸ συλλαβέσθαι τῷ Ψευδοφιλίππῳ ὑποφόρους ἐποίησαν, ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς ρυζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος κ.τ.λ. (Eusebius, *Chron.* ed. Schöne, i. 240).

I now proceed to a brief examination of the remaining Macedonian documents known to me which are dated by reference to an era. Before the Roman provincial organisation of Macedonia we have no evidence for the use of any recognised era there; probably the normal practice was to date by the year of the reigning king, as in a Beroean text (*B.S.A.* xviii. 134) dated βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιγόνου ἔτους F καὶ λ, which the editor assigns to 242/1 B.C., the 36th year of Antigonos Gonatas' rule over Macedon.

In my previous article (p. 207) I gave a list of the eighteen known instances of the double dating of Macedonian inscriptions. Continuing my numeration, I append a similar list of the six examples in which a single era, expressly designated as the Augustan, is employed.<sup>1</sup>

## MACEDONIAN INSCRIPTIONS DATED BY THE AUGUSTAN ERA ONLY.

No.	Date.	Augustan Era.	A.D.	Published.
19	γορ ἔτους Σεβαστοῦ	173	141/2	Duch. 58; Dem. 528.
20	ἔτους δγο Σεβαστοῦ	194	162/3	Duch. 60; Dem. 406.
21	ἔτους θισ Σεβαστοῦ <sup>2</sup>	212	180/1	<i>B.S.A.</i> xviii. 140.
22	τοῦ ζλα Σεβ. ἔτους	237	205/6	<i>Progrès de Salonique</i> , 1900, No. 19; <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xiii. 494; <i>B. ph.</i> IV. xxi. 699.
23	ἔτους γξσ Σεβαστοῦ <sup>3</sup>	263	231/2	Delac. 29; Dem. 126; <i>R.C.H.</i> xxiii. 340.
24	ἐν τῷ ηπσ Σεβ.	288	256/7	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxi. 98; <i>Glasnik</i> , xiii. 452. Cf. A. Wilhelm, <i>Beiträge z. gr. Inschriftenkunde</i> , 201 f.; <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxxvi. 280; <i>Glotta</i> , iv. 311; <i>Mnem.</i> xliii. 232.

<sup>1</sup> Kaestner, p. 54, gives the three (Nos. 19, 20, 23) known when he wrote.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription, dated in l. 37 ἔτους θισ Σεβαστοῦ Πανήμου δευτέρῳ, also bears (l. 29) the double dating ἔτους θισ Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ ηπτ.

<sup>3</sup> Delacoulonche gives ΕΤΟΥCCΓΞCCEBACTOY in his copy, but ἔτους CΓξ σεβαστοῦ in his transcript. Demitsas transcribes ἔτους cγξc Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ, calls attention to

From this list I omit Vidal-Lablache, *Rev. Arch.* 1869, xx. 63 (Dem. 492), because of its fragmentary character, and because I am not convinced that the words Σεβαστῶ έτει record a date. If they do, the suggestion is that the nominative of έτους Σεβαστοῦ is not, as we might assume, έτος Σεβαστοῦ,<sup>1</sup> but έτος σεβαστόν, a suggestion strengthened by the formula used in No. 22 (above) and by the phrase έτο[υς] θκρ [ἀπὸ τῆς] σεβαστῆς εἰρήν[ης] in an inscription of Gerasa (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 1376).

I turn next to the more formidable task of tabulating the Macedonian inscriptions in which dates are indicated by reference to a single unspecified era. As before, I omit publications anterior to the *C.I.G.* For the sake of economy of space I omit from my table the publication of Nos. 44, 78, 91 and 94 in the Έκθεσις τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Βοδενῶν διανοητικῆς ἀναπτύξεως ἐκ τοῦ γραφείου τοῦ Φιλεκπαιδευτικοῦ Συλλόγου Βοδενῶν (Constantinople, 1874), that of Nos. 34, 89, 90, 93, 99, 100, 103 and 106 in Ἀρμονία, 1899, No. 4174, and that of Nos. 89, 90, 93, 99 and 100 in *Viestnik Hrvatskoga Arheološkoga Društva* n.s. iii (1898), 131 ff.

MACEDONIAN INSCRIPTIONS DATED BY ONE UNSPECIFIED ERA.

No.	Date.	Year.	Published.
25	έτους η καλ :	18	<i>B.S.A.</i> xviii. 145.
26	„ θ καλ x	29	<i>Diitenb. Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup> 700 (and Bibliography); <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxxvi. 278, xxxix. 184; <i>Hermes</i> , liii. 102 ff.
27	„ θα	39	<i>Rev. Arch.</i> 1894, xxiv. 204; <i>Byz. Zts.</i> xvii. 340.
28	„ εφ	95	F. Cumont, <i>Musée du Cinquantenaire: Cat. des Sculptures</i> , No. 75.
29	„ κρ (?)	120	<i>B.S.A.</i> xviii. 184; Ἀθηνᾶ, xxv. 446, No. 40.
30	έτ. θκρ	122	<i>B.S.A.</i> xviii. 151.
31	έτους γηρ	153	<i>B.C.H.</i> xxiv. 309.
32	„ αερ	161	Heuz. 113 (ΛΞΡ); Duch. 59 (ΑΞΡ); Dem. 386 (ΛΞΡ).
33	„ ο καλ ρ	170	Κωνσταντινούπολις, 1890, No. 120; Dem. 678.
34	βερ (?)	172	Ἀθηνᾶ, xii. 73. Cf. <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xii. 171, vi.; <i>B.ph. W.</i> xix. 635, No. 6.
35	γηρ	183	G. P. Oikonomos, Ἐπιγρ. τῆς Μακεδονίας, 17, No. 14.

the 'peculiar union of four letters for the date ογξς, which cannot be determined without some alteration,' and misstates Delacoulonche's solution. P. Perdrizet in *B.C.H.*, *loc. cit.* writes έτους ογξ' Σεβαστοῦ. In view of the almost invariable observance of the ascending order of the numerals in Macedonian year-dates, I accept without hesitation the reading wrongly attributed by Demitsas to the original editor. So also Kaestner, p. 54.

<sup>1</sup> Kubitschek's statement (Pauly-Wissowa, i. 640, l. 38) that this era *pfl egt auf den Inschriften als die Aera τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ bezeichnet zu werden* overlooks the fact that the definite article is not used with Σεβαστοῦ in the date-formula: in No. 22 it goes with έτους, in No. 24 with έτει *subauditum*. The difficulty would have been solved if the abbreviation Σεβ. in No. 24 had been written out in full.

## MACEDONIAN INSCRIPTIONS DATED BY ONE UNSPECIFIED ERA—(cont.).

No.	Date.	Year.	Published.
36	ἔτους ζπρ . . .	187	Νεολόγος Κων/πόλεως, March 13, 1891; Dem. 821.
37	" ππρ . . .	188	Duch. 61; Dem. 407; <i>Mitanges</i> , 1912, 354.
38	" δφρ . . .	194	<i>B. ph. W.</i> ix. 556; Dem. 450.
39	" Εφρ . . .	196	<i>C. I. G.</i> 1971; Le Bas, 1363; Duch. 30; Dem. 394, 458; <i>Πρακτικά</i> , 1913, 156.
40	" ζφρ . . .	197	Duch. 47; Dem. 399.
41	" θφρ . . .	199	<i>B. C. H.</i> xxiv. 307.
42	" σ(?) . . .	200	<i>B. C. H.</i> xxiv. 317.
43	" ασ(?) . . .	205	<i>B. C. H.</i> xviii. 430; Dem. 893.
44	" Εσ . . .	206	Duch. 143; <i>A. - E. M. Ö.</i> xii. 192; Dem. 12.
45	" ζσ . . .	207	<i>C. I. G.</i> 1965; Le Bas, 1403; Dem. 186.
46	" ασ(?) . . .	207	<i>B. C. H.</i> iv. 103; Dem. 267. Cf. Kaestner, p. 59.
47	" ισ . . .	210	Κωνσταντινούπολις, 1889, No. 267; Dem. 813.
48	" αισ(?) . . .	215	<i>Rev. Instr. Publ. Belg.</i> xli. 332 (ΣΙC); <i>B. C. H.</i> xxiv. 308 (ΣΙC).
49	τοῦ γμσ ἔτους	243	Dem. 258 (and Bibliography); 'Αθηνά, xx. 3ff.
50	τῷ Εμσ ἐτι <sup>1</sup>	246	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxi. 100f.; <i>Rev. Arch.</i> 1904, iii. 20; C. Clermont-Ganneau, <i>Recueil d'arch. or.</i> vi. 214f.; F. Cumont, <i>Musées du Cinquantenaire: Cat. des Sculptures</i> , No. 52.
51	ἔτους νσ	250	Duch. 97; <i>Rev. Arch.</i> 1894, xxiv. 211, No. 27; Dem. 550 (NE); 'Αθηνά, xv. 37.
52	" γνσ <sup>2</sup> . . .	253	Delac. V p. 689 and No. 107; Dem. 139.
53	" γσ . . .	253	Κωνσταντινούπολις, 1889, No. 267; Dem. 814.
54	[ἐτ]ους ενσ	255	<i>Rev. Instr. Publ. Belg.</i> xli. 332 (H-C); <i>B. C. H.</i> xxiv. 308.
55	ἔτους ησ	258	'Ελλ. φιλ. Σάλλ. 1889, xiii.-xiv. 35; Dem. 434.
56	" ξσ . . .	260	<i>Rev. Arch.</i> 1873, xxv. 189; Heuz. 126; Dem. 276 (and Bibliography).
57	" εεσ . . .	265	Duch. 11; Dem. 410 (and Bibliography).
58	" ξεσ . . .	267	Duch. 12; Dem. 409.
59	" θεσ . . .	269	<i>B. S. A.</i> xxiii. 73.
60	" ρεσ . . .	269	Dem. 261 (and Bibliography).
61	[ἐτ]ους[us] οσ(?)	270	Κωνσταντινούπολις, 1889, No. 267; Dem. 815.
62	ἔτο[us] γοσ . . .	273	<i>C. I. G.</i> 1994g; Dem. 416; 'Αθηνά, xv. 39.
63	ἔτους οοσ . . .	277	Heuz. 115; Duch. 71; Dem. 388.
64	" θοσ . . .	279	<i>B. C. H.</i> xxxvii. 116, No. 33.
[65]	τῷ ζπσ ἐτι . . .	287	<i>Falsa lectio</i> : see No. 50 and note.]
66	τοῦ θπσ ἔτους	289	Le Bas, 1359; Heuz. 112; Duch. p. 206; <i>J. H. S.</i> viii. 363; Dem. 365. Cf. <i>A. - E. M. Ö.</i> xiii. 123; Pauly-Wissowa, i. 637; A. Wilhelm, <i>Beiträge z. griech. Inschriftenkunde</i> , 198.
67	ἔτους γφσ . . .	293	<i>B. ph. W.</i> xii. 957.
68	" γφσ . . .	293	Duch. 66; <i>J. H. S.</i> viii. 364; Dem. 421.
69	" δφσ . . .	294	<i>C. I. G.</i> 1957g; Le Bas, 1331; Duch. 134; Dem. 53, 216; <i>B. S. A.</i> xviii. 185, No. 34. Cf. Kaestner, p. 60.
70	" ατ . . .	301	<i>B. S. A.</i> xviii. 185, No. 33; 'Αθηνά, xxv. 446, No. 43a.
71	" βτ . . .	302	Duch. 65; Dem. 422.
72	" γτ . . .	303	<i>B. ph. W.</i> ix. 588, No. 5; Dem. 453.
73	" ετ . . .	305	Κωνσταντινούπολις, 1890, No. 120; <i>B. C. H.</i> xviii. 425; Dem. 863.
74	" ετ . . .	305	Duch. 35; Dem. 466.
75	" ιβτ . . .	312	<i>B. C. H.</i> xviii. 438; Dem. 909; <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxxvi. 279f.

<sup>1</sup> Cumont transcribes inadvertently τῷ ζπσ ἐτ(ι).<sup>2</sup> Delac. read ΓΝΓ: I accept the restoration ΓΝC (with Dem.) rather than Kaestner's ΤΝΓ.



## MACEDONIAN INSCRIPTIONS DATED BY ONE UNSPECIFIED ERA—(cont.).

No.	Date.	Year.	Published.
[76]	ἐν τῇ ἑτὶ τῇ γιτ .	313	Néa Σμύρνη, No. 3937; <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xv. 142; <i>Rev. Arch.</i> 1902, xli. 456. <i>Falsa lectio</i> : see No. 101.]
77	ἔτους εἰτ .	315	Heuz. 132; Dem. 279.
78	,, <i>F</i> ετ .	316	Duch. 141; <i>A.-E.M.Ö.</i> xii. 192; Dem. 10.
[79]	ἐν τῇ ζῖτ ἑτὶ .	317	Néa Σμύρνη, No. 3937; <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xv. 142; <i>Rev. Arch.</i> 1902, xli. 456. <i>Falsa lectio</i> : see No. 105.]
80	ἔτους κτ .	320	Delac. 19; Dem. 147.
81	κτε (?)	325	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxvii. 307
82	ἐν τῇ ζκτ [ζ]τ[ε].	327	Duch. 133; Dem. 679.
83	ἔτους ζκτ .	327	<i>B. ph. W.</i> xxxi. 1205; <i>Mélanges</i> , 1912, 359.
84	,, ηκτ .	328	<i>C.I.G.</i> 1997c; Delac. 1; Hahn, <i>Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik</i> , 242, No. xxiii.; <i>A.-E.M.Ö.</i> xii. 187; Dem. 1.
85	,, μτ .	340	Dem. 262.
86	ἔτους τασαρακοστοῦ καὶ τριακοδιαστοῦ	340	<i>Arch. Zeit.</i> xxxviii. 159; Dem. 217; <i>J.H.S.</i> xxxiii. 337. Cf. 'Aθηνᾶ, xxv. 462 ff.
87	ἔτους αὐτ .	351	<i>C.I.G.</i> 2007m; Le Bas, 1415; Dem. 781. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i. 637.
88	[ἔτου]ς ἐνδ[ς καὶ πεν]- τηκοσ[τοῦ καὶ] τριακο- σ[τοῦ]	351	'Aθηνᾶ, xxv. 435, No. 17.
89	ἔτους βστ .	372	'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 72, No. 8. Cf. <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xii. 172, vii; <i>B. ph. W.</i> xix. 635, No. 7.
90	,, β[στ] (?)	372	'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 70, No. 1. Cf. <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xii. 169, i.; <i>B. ph. W.</i> xix. 634, No. 1.
91	,, ζ[στ] .	377	Duch. 135; <i>A.-E.M.Ö.</i> xii. 190; Dem. 2.
92	[ἔτο]υς θστ .	379	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxvii. 307, No. 6.
93	ἐν τῇ απτ ἑτὶ .	381	'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 70, No. 2. Cf. <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xii. 170, ii.; <i>B. ph. W.</i> xix. 635, No. 2.
94	ἐν τῇ α[π]τ .	381	Duch. 145; <i>A.-E.M.Ö.</i> xii. 191, No. 11; Dem. 14.
95	[τ]οῦ βπτ ἔτους .	382	<i>B.S.A.</i> xviii. 172, No. 9.
96	ἔτους εστ .	385	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xviii. 416; Dem. p. 393; <i>B.C.H.</i> xxiii. 340. Cf. 'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 66.
97	[ἔτους <i>F</i> ]πτ .	386	Heuz. 178.
98	ἔτους αφτ .	391	<i>B.S.A.</i> xviii. 169.
99	,, αφτ .	391	'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 73, No. 10. Cf. <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xii. 172, ix; <i>B. ph. W.</i> xix. 636, No. 9.
100	ἐν τῇ αφτ ἑτὶ .	391	'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 72, No. 9. Cf. <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xii. 172, viii; <i>B. ph. W.</i> xix. 636, No. 8.
101	ἐν τῇ ἑτὶ τῇ γφτ <sup>1</sup> .	393	<i>B.S.A.</i> xviii. 148. Cf. No. 76.
102	ἔτους δφτ <sup>2</sup> .	394	Delac. 112; Duch. 27; <i>J.H.S.</i> viii. 363; Dem. 454.
103	ἐν τῷ εφτ ἑτο[ι] <sup>3</sup> .	395	'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 71, No. 5. Cf. <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xii. 170, iii.; <i>B. ph. W.</i> xix. 635, No. 3.
104	ἔτους <i>F</i> φτ .	396	Delac. 15; Dem. 43.
105	ἐν τῇ ζφτ ἑτὶ <sup>1</sup> .	397	<i>B.S.A.</i> xviii. 148. Cf. No. 79.
106	ἔτους γυ .	403	'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 72, No. 6. Cf. <i>Rev. Ét. Gr.</i> xii. 171, iv.; <i>B. ph. W.</i> xix. 635, No. 4.
107	,, γυ .	413	'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 73, No. 12.
108	,, ου (?) <sup>4</sup> .	470	<i>C.I.G.</i> 2007d; Le Bas, 1408; Dem. 745.

<sup>1</sup> These are, I feel sure, the correct readings of the text No. 76 (79), wrongly copied by its original editor.

<sup>2</sup> Delac. and Hogarth (in *J.H.S.*) read δτ, followed by Kaestner (p. 61); Duch. and Dem. read δφτ.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.* and *B. ph. W.* read ετ[τ]: but see 'Aθηνᾶ, xii. 77.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 61, note 2.

In addition to the foregoing dated inscriptions, four others call for mention in passing :

109. *C.I.G.* 2007 c; Le Bas, 1412; Dem. 746: cf. Kaestner, p. 63. This bears the date  $\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\Sigma$   $\mu\eta\nu\iota$  'Ιουνίῳ 1577. Cousinéry, the sole traveller to see and copy the inscription (*ii.* 163, No. 3), translated *le 16 juin de l'an 77*, which suggests that he may have printed  $\Sigma$  in error for  $\omicron\mathbf{Z}$ . But the inscription, which is a memorial to a certain Aurelia and uses the Latin name for June, cannot belong to the year 77 of either the provincial or the Augustan era, and it is better to acknowledge ourselves baffled than, with Boeckh, to conjecture  $\Sigma$  in place of  $\mathbf{Z}$ .

110. Delac. 13; Dem. 31. Dated  $\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  ΓΙ'ΕΜ. This puzzles me, as it did Kaestner (p. 63), whose conjecture  $\mu(\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma)$  appears to me highly doubtful. For the year he conjectures ΤΙΕ as possible, but adds *neque vero affirmare audeo*.

111. An inscription bearing the name of the Emperor Zeno (A.D. 474-491) is dated  $\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\phi\iota\beta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\iota\nu\delta(\kappa\tau\iota\omega\nu\iota)$  18. Cousinéry (*i.* 268 f.) professes to have copied it *dans le souterrain de la mosquée d' Eski-djiuma* at Salonica.<sup>1</sup> See *C.I.G.* *ii.* pp. 90, 998; Le Bas, 1361; *C.I.G.* 8621 (and Bibliography); Heuzey, *Rev. Arch.* 1873, xxv. 187, *Mission*, pp. 275, 318; Duch., p. 257; Kaestner, p. 64 f.; Kubitschek, *A.-E.M.Ö.* xiii. p. 122, note 6, and 124. I need not summarise the long discussion which has centred round this inscription, as I have nothing to add to it save the expression of my personal opinion that, despite the doubts of two such eminent scholars as Jurgievitch and Latyschef (*A.-E.M.Ö.* xiii. 124), we must adhere to the view maintained by Boeckh (*C.I.G.* *ii.* p. 998), *non dubito quin titulus Chersonesius sit, non Thessalonicensis*.

112. An inscription seen by Hahn (*Reise durch die Gebiete d. Drin u. Wardar.* 165, No. 22) and by Heuzey (p. 317, No. 124: also *Rev. Arch.* 1873, xxv. 186) at Monastir, and said by the latter to have been brought there from Prilep, begins ΕΤΟΥCΖΞΩ in Heuzey's copy, while Hahn only saw the first of the three numerals. Cf. Kaestner, p. 65; Dem. 272; *B.S.A.* xviii. 185 note. Kaestner believes *etiam in hoc titulo perscribendo usurpatam esse vetustiore aera Macedonicam*, and dates the inscription in 719/20 A.D. Heuzey, to whom such a date appeared impossibly late,

<sup>1</sup> Kaestner's remark *Cousineryus edidit titulum, quem descripsisse se contendit e fundamenti aedis sacrae Mohammedanorum, quae est in oppidulo Eski-Djumna dicto, sed Le Basius eundem titulum Thessalonicae vindicat* is based on a misunderstanding.

thought that we have here a unique example of a Macedonian inscription dated from the foundation of Rome. I am inclined to hold that Heuzey made a mistake in copying the third numeral.

Ignoring these last four cases (Nos. 109-112) as too uncertain in reading, interpretation or provenance to afford trustworthy evidence, we may now ask to what era we must refer the years which are denoted merely by numbers (Nos. 25-108). It is well known that Boeckh, in commenting on *C.I.G.* 1965 (No. 45) and 1971 (No. 39), maintained that the unnamed era was *ca, quae n. 1970 primo loco ponitur, recentior, abolita priore*. But this view, as Heuzey pointed out (p. 275), is opposed to No. 66, which 'points to the ancient era having remained more especially the official era.'<sup>1</sup> Later scholars have on the whole accepted without discussion the theory that the unnamed era is normally the provincial, not the Augustan, though in isolated cases they have assumed the latter. The question is an important one and deserves fuller statement than it has yet received.

(1) It would seem antecedently probable that there would be in Macedonia one recognised era in vogue, and that this era would be understood where no indication to the contrary was given. What era would be likely to serve this purpose? Boeckh, as we have seen, suggested the Augustan—*recentior, abolita priore*. But he had not before him the mass of evidence we now possess. The earlier era was not 'abolished'; it lasted on, side by side with the Augustan, until at least A.D. 261/2 (No. 18), and it is the sole era used for dating a document of A.D. 239 (No. 97). May we not rather say that the probability is all the other way, that the new era failed to replace that which had become familiar during well-nigh 120 years? In the eighteen doubly dated inscriptions (Nos. 1-18) the Augustan era is thirteen times specially indicated by the addition of *Σεβαστοῦ*, while the provincial era is never explicitly marked as such. Again, where a single era is used, that era is in six cases (Nos. 19-24) spoken of as the Augustan, but in no single instance is the reference to the provincial era made explicit. Moreover, where we can test the dates of inscriptions by their historical contents, the result is, as we shall see, to prove that they are usually

<sup>1</sup> He proceeds bien que, d'un autre côté, une inscription de l'empereur Zénon nous montre l'ère d'Auguste se maintenant à Thessalonique jusqu'en l'an 512 après J.-C. The last words are due to inadvertence, the year being 512 of an unknown era, not 512 A.D. For the inscription referred to see above, No. 111.

dated by the provincial era. The inference is to my mind irresistible, that the provincial era, as it was the only one in use from 148 to 31 B.C., remained the normal one down to at least A.D. 265, being occasionally supplemented and rarely replaced by a reference to the Augustan era, and that where it was employed there was no need for any specific indication of that fact.

(2) Three of the dates in our list are proved by the historical content of the texts in which they occur to relate to the provincial era, viz. :

(a) No. 26, which certainly belongs to the last quarter of the second century B.C., and not to the close of the following century ;

(b) No. 66, which refers to *Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius* Σωτήρ and *Marcus Aurelius Verus Caesar*, and dates from A.D. 141/2 ;

(c) No. 97, from Apollonia on the Adriatic Coast, which refers to *Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, pontifex maximus, trib. pot. II, consul*, and may therefore be assigned to A.D. 239.<sup>1</sup>

In one case only does the historical content indicate that the reference is to the Augustan era (No. 67 : see below).

(3) A third argument, which has a certain presumptive force, is derived from a consideration of the period covered by those inscriptions which are doubly dated or dated by the Augustan era, viz. Nos. 1-24. The earliest possible date for these is 31 B.C., the earliest actual date represented is A.D. 21/2. Of the twenty-four inscriptions in question, two fall in the first century of our era, fourteen in the second, and eight in the third, but none is later than A.D. 261/2. Now if we assume that Nos. 25-108 are dated by the provincial era, we shall have six texts falling in the first century B.C., twenty in the first century after Christ, thirty-three in the second, and twenty in the third, but, with one possible exception,<sup>2</sup> none is later than the year A.D. 265/6. We thus

<sup>1</sup> Heuzey restored 'Αντων[ι]νος Γορδιανός, but a glance at his copy will show that this restoration is too long for the available space, and the name of Gordian III is Antonius, never Antoninus (*Prosop. Imp. Rom.* i. 99, No. 666; Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 497-504, etc.). He also restored [ἑτους ε]πρ (Oct. 237-Oct. 238), which is inadmissible, for the third Gordian did not enter on his second tenure of tribunician power till Dec. 10, 238. We must therefore read [F]πρ or possibly [Σ]πρ. Kaestner appears to have overlooked this inscription.

<sup>2</sup> The only copy of No. 108, that of Cousinéry, gives the date as ΕΤΟΥΚΟΥ (ou ΘΥ). Kaestner is inclined to accept the alternative Θυ : I, for the reasons implied in my present argument, am convinced that this is the correct reading.

find, upon this assumption, a remarkable parallelism between the series which we have securely dated and that whose date we are now seeking : both contain but few inscriptions of the first century, a much larger number of the second, a proportionately equal number during the first sixty or sixty-five years of the third, and then a sudden cessation. This parallelism entirely disappears, however, if we assume that the majority of the inscriptions, Nos. 25-108, are dated according to the Augustan era. But further, we may, I think, without being fanciful, find an explanation of the sudden failure of inscriptions (for I cannot but think that the cessation is one of inscriptions generally and not merely one of dated texts) soon after A.D. 265/6.

In the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (A.D. 253-260) occasional barbarian raids reached the borders of Macedonia, but on the whole the Danube frontier was efficiently guarded. But after Valerian's eastern campaign and his capture by Sapor, the weakness and frivolity of Gallienus and the distraction caused by the numerous pretenders to the Imperial throne exposed the provinces to invasion from without and to rebellion within. Famine and plague ravaged a large portion of the Empire, and in A.D. 269 the Goths descended upon the Aegean lands in greater force than on any previous occasion. Their main fleet anchored near the foot of Mount Athos and a large force attacked Thessalonica. The victorious campaign of Claudius, culminating in the great victory won at Naissus, broke the strength of the invaders, whose retreat was cut off by the capture or destruction of their fleet. In the following year, A.D. 270, the Emperor was carried off by pestilence, and his successor Aurelian met a fresh inroad of the Goths and Vandals, and after a hotly contested battle concluded a treaty with them. It may well be that during these years the prosperity of Macedonia was so undermined by invasion and war, famine and epidemics, that for a long time its inhabitants were forced to practise the strictest economy and, though they could hardly do without inscribed records altogether, to reduce them to the bare minimum alike in number and in content.<sup>1</sup>

(4) A fourth argument may be drawn from the appearance in the dated inscriptions of certain Roman gentile names. Taken singly

<sup>1</sup> In this paragraph I follow mainly Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chs. x, xi (ed. Bury, i. 259 ff.). See also T. L. F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro*, xl f.; G. Finlay, *Greece under the Romans*, ch. i. § 14; G. F. Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, iii. 182 ff.; H. Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. § 82.

it is open to obvious objections, but its confirmatory value is, in my judgment, considerable. There were, of course, Claudii and Flavii, Aelii and Aurelii, in Italy and at Rome under the Republic as well as in Imperial times, but few of them found their way to the eastern provinces for purposes of business.<sup>1</sup> But 'in the Imperial period the name Claudius became so common in consequence of the numerous grants of citizenship made by the Emperors Claudius and Nero, that it was usually abbreviated in writing to Cl. Especially noticeable, and referable perhaps to Nero's fondness for the Hellenic element, is the large number of Claudii in the Greek east.'<sup>2</sup> Similarly from the period of the Flavian emperors the name Flavius became common, with Trajan's accession Ulpus made its appearance, and Hadrian's reign called into being an immense number of Aelii: indeed, this last name became so widespread 'that it almost lost the significance of a *nomen gentilicium*, and was often, like Fl(avius) and Aur(elius), abbreviated.'<sup>3</sup> Above all, the name Aurelius spread over the eastern provinces of the Empire under the Antonines, and especially after the famous edict of Caracalla, which conferred Roman *civitas* on all free inhabitants of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> Now if we assume that the inscriptions in the unnamed era are dated from 148 B.C., we reach the following results. The name Claudius first appears in A.D. 46/7 and 49/50 (Nos. 38, 40), i. e. during the second half of Claudius' reign, Flavius in 112/13 and 121/2 (Nos. 56, 60),<sup>5</sup> Ulpus in 180/1 (No. 84), Aelius in 157/8, 167/8 and 173 (Nos. 74, 77, 80),<sup>6</sup> and Aurelius in 229/30, 233/4 and 255/6

<sup>1</sup> See J. Hatzfeld, *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique*, and the same writer's list of Italians resident at Delos in *B.C.H.* xxxvi. 10 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. Groag, s. v. Claudius in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 2667, l. 3 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Klebs, s. v. Aelius in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 489, l. 4 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 2431, l. 31 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In No. 46 the name apparently occurs as early as A.D. 59/60. But I feel sure that Kaestner is right in his conjecture (p. 59) that ZC stands for ξσ, though I do not believe that a numerical sign preceded the Z. In No. 4 ⚡ ZP unquestionably stands for Fξρ, and it would be easy to multiply similar instances, e. g. [Φ]IAOZENO[C] in an Ancyran inscription (*A.-E.M.Ü.* ix. 127, No. 91). Thus No. 46 would belong, like No. 56, to A.D. 112/13.

<sup>6</sup> I pass over No. 27, dated εἰς τοὺς ΘΛ, in which a P. Aelius and an Aelia are mentioned. The reading is vouched for by two independent authorities, but the ancient engraver was certainly careless (he wrote twice over the μῆ of μηνός) and may have omitted a τ after θλ. In any case, the character of the writing seems to me inconsistent with the supposition that the inscription belongs to the year 39, whether calculated by the provincial or by the Augustan era.

(Nos. 91, 94, 106),<sup>1</sup>—surely a very striking vindication of the theory here supported. To my mind it is nothing short of incredible that the earliest appearances of these names should fall 116 years later than the dates just indicated.

But this argument may also be applied somewhat differently. We have seen that under the Empire a marked extension of Roman *civitas* takes place, accompanied by a growth in the use of Roman names, and that this process culminates in A.D. 213, when Caracalla's edict made all free inhabitants of the Empire Roman citizens. Now an examination of the inscriptions Nos. 25 to 108 shows that down to No. 88 we have, together with many Roman names, a constant intermixture of Greek names,—e. g. No. 87 is the tomb of Γερμανὸς Ἡρακλᾶ and his wife Διονυσία Διονυσίου. From No. 89 onwards, however, purely Greek names are borne only by slaves: all free persons, so far as I can judge, have a Roman name, nearly always a *nomen gentilicium*.<sup>2</sup> But it is precisely in the interval between No. 88 and No. 89 that the edict of Caracalla falls if the reckoning is by the provincial era, but it would be hard to explain, if in any considerable number of cases the Augustan era is used, why we find in Nos. 50 to 88 (all of which on this reckoning would be later than A.D. 213) so large a number of names of free men and women which in no way indicate their Roman citizen status.

(5) It might be expected that a fifth argument should be based upon the letter-forms found in the inscriptions in question. This argument has indeed been used, by others and by myself: A. M. Woodward, for example, reckons No. 30 by the Augustan era, 'as the form of *epsilon* cannot belong to the corresponding year of the earlier era,' and P. Perdrizet says that No. 41 *ne semble pas, d'après le caractère de l'écriture, pouvoir être datée d'après l'ère macédonienne*. The former example I need not discuss, for the inscription is broken off through the last numeral, and this may possibly have been followed by the word Σεβαστοῦ; but I am not convinced by the argument based on the form of ε. Nor need I linger over No. 29, also assigned by Woodward to the Actian era, since

<sup>1</sup> It is fair to add that in No. 91 the reading ZOM has been conjecturally altered to ZOT because of the occurrence of the name Aurelius. The name Aurelianus (-a) is found in 249/50: see No. 101 (105).

<sup>2</sup> I do not regard the Στρατῶ δούλῃ θεᾶς ἀνικήτου Μᾶς (No. 99) as an exception: the Αὔρηλις Αὔρα ἡ Αὔκου (No. 106) may be only an apparent exception, for Lycus may have died before A.D. 213.

here the reading  $\kappa\rho$  is conjectural and the genuineness of the inscription is not above suspicion. No. 41 belongs to a group of texts (Nos. 31, 41, 42, 48, 54) copied by Perdrizet, and in some cases by Cumont, in the vicinity of Philippi: Cumont dated those which he saw by the provincial era, but Perdrizet thinks that they should all be calculated by 'the era of Actium, which was that of the colony of Philippi, founded in 30 B.C. after Actium: as a matter of fact, they all come from villages dependent on the colony' (*B.C.H.* xxiv. 308). To differ from so eminent an authority about texts which he has studied closely and I have not even seen might be deemed unwarrantable presumption, and as I cannot honestly profess to be convinced I prefer to reserve my judgment. For the present I content myself with asking from others what I impose upon myself, a very cautious use of the criterion of letter-forms in dating Macedonian inscriptions. Printed copies, it must be remembered, cannot do justice to the more delicate *nuances* of the writing, and often such copies as we possess were made with regard rather to the words composing the text than to the precise forms assumed by the letters. Again, the vagaries of local fashion and of personal caprice do much to determine the character of the writing, and at no period is so free play allowed to these incalculable factors as during the first three centuries of the Empire, the period which here concerns us. For some localities we can follow with comparative fulness and accuracy the development of the epigraphical script: W. Larfeld has worked it out for Athens, C. Paepcke for Pergamum, O. Kern for Magnesia on the Maeander. But it is an easy error to regard this development as having been more uniform throughout the Greek world than it really was, and to use tests in one region which are applicable only to the inscriptions of another. Any valid history of the Macedonian epigraphical script must rest upon a series of inscriptions which can be accurately or approximately dated by applying other tests than that of their writing. I have therefore chosen to make practically no use of this argument for fixing the dates of the inscriptions under review, but to determine them, if possible, on other grounds, hoping thus to strengthen the foundations for such a history as will help in turn to date texts which are not dated by reference to any era. I must, however, add that nothing in the character of the writing of our inscriptions seems to me to render impossible or even unlikely my main thesis, that in the great majority of examples the unnamed era is that of the province of Macedonia.



Kaestner, after reviewing the thirty-three examples known to him in which the date is indicated by a single unnamed era, concluded that *omnes hi numeri annales optime deduci possunt ex epocha Macedoniae sub Romanorum potestatem redactae* (p. 64). Though this portion of Kaestner's discussion is in my judgment the least satisfactory section of his examination of the Macedonian era, I have tried to show that the much fuller evidence now available supports in general his conclusion. The rule, however, is not without exception. I have pointed out above that Perdrizet dates Nos. 31, 41, 42, 48 and 54 by the Augustan era: though I do not share this view, I am not in a position to challenge it. But one case seems to me fairly clear, namely that of No. 67, published (in minuscules only) by Papageorgiou, who unhesitatingly dated it by the provincial era and so assigned it to A.D. 145/6, drawing the conclusion that Thessalonica was already a *colonia* in that year.<sup>1</sup> But this title is not found on Thessalonian coins until the reign of Decius (A.D. 249-251), and its bestowal was probably, as Mommsen<sup>2</sup> conjectured, due to the important part played by the city in the Gothic Wars (Zosimus, i. 29, 43). No. 67 must almost certainly be dated by the Augustan era, and thus belongs to A.D. 261/2, the year of No. 18 and probably also of No. 108.

A dispute has arisen over No. 76 (79), which contains the dates 313 and 317. The editor, assuming a reference to the provincial era, equated these with A.D. 165 and 169, but H. Gaebler<sup>3</sup> contends that the title *νεωκόρος* borne by Beroea in the inscription points to a time later than the second century after Christ, and that the character of the writing and the occurrence of the names L. Aureliana Alexandra and L. Aurelianus Soterichus suit the later date. If, however, we assign No. 76(79) with Gaebler to a date not earlier than A.D. 285/6, it falls some twenty years later than any other member of the series. The solution of the difficulty is a simple one. A. M. Woodward has given us an independent copy of the same inscription, which he regarded as unpublished, and this shows that the dates are 393 and 397 respectively, and that the text was engraved shortly after the latter year, A.D. 249/50. See No. 101 (105). This disposes of the objections rightly raised by Gaebler, while at the same time it renders it unnecessary to date the document by the

<sup>1</sup> The inscription contains the phrase *κατὰ τὸ ἔδξαν τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ δήμῳ τῆς Θεσσαλονικίαν μητροπόλεως καὶ κοινότητος*.

<sup>2</sup> *A.-E.M.* (vii. 118. Cf. *B.M. Coins: Macedonia*, lxiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Z. f. N.* xxiv. 297 ff.

Augustan era and to attribute it to a time twenty years later than any other dated Macedonian text.

Another doubtful case is that of No. 50, dated by Mordtmann, Perdrizet and Cumont—presumably on the ground of style and lettering—according to the Augustan era. The phrase here used, τῷ Φμοσ ἐτ(ε)ι, is unparalleled among the Macedonian dated texts, but suggests that the relief belongs to A.D. 214/15 rather than to 98/9; the name Πύρρος, however, unaccompanied by *praenomen* or *nomen* is curious in a document subsequent to the edict of Caracalla.

The sporadic appearance of the Augustan era in inscriptions is the less surprising because the only Macedonian coins which bear a numerical date unquestionably employ that era. These are the numerous coins struck at Beroea early in the reign of the elder Philip (A.D. 244–249) with the legend ΕΟC (275), *i. e.* 243/4 A.D., and a gold medallion from Abukir with ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΩC, *i. e.* Ὀλύμπια δωσ (274), belonging to the previous year.<sup>1</sup> Any discussion of this numismatic evidence, however, falls outside my province, and is, moreover, rendered unnecessary by the very close examination to which it has been subjected by H. Gaebler.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> R. Mowat, *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. de France*, 1902, 311; H. Dressel, *Fünf Gold-medailleurs aus dem Funde von Abukir*, Plate III. 3; *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* x. Plate XII. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. N.* xxiv. 245 ff. xxv. 1 ff. (especially xxiv. 311 ff., 317 ff., xxv. 32 ff.). Cf. Kaestner, 54 f.; *B. M. Coins: Macedonia*, iv. 23, 26, 62; Head, *H.N.*<sup>3</sup> 241–3.

## COLUMNS OF ORDEAL.<sup>1</sup>

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No self-respecting Cairene dragoman omits to point out to his clients among the curiosities of the mosque of Amr at Fostat two columns near the South door, which are endowed, according to popular superstition, with the miraculous power of discriminating between true Moslems and Unbelievers.<sup>2</sup> Placed at such a short distance apart (some ten inches) that the passage between them can with difficulty be negotiated by a man of average build, the columns none the less allow a true Moslem, however stout, to pass between them, while an Unbeliever, however slim, finds passage impossible. In other words, the space is supernaturally widened if necessary to accommodate the former and contracted to exclude the latter class.

The columns actually used for this purpose at Cairo do not seem long to have been associated with the superstition. Visitors to the mosque in the 'sixties do not mention it, though they refer to the companion marvel of the column miraculously transported from Mecca.<sup>3</sup> The superstition itself, however, is of great antiquity and relatively well documented. The purpose of the rite, a spiritual test, distinguishes it sharply from the many similar 'passing through' rituals universally current and generally considered 'lucky' acts practised with a view to the healing of disease, etc.<sup>4</sup> Its symbolism, as we shall see, suggests a Christian origin. A study of its developments or ramifications into various parts both of the Christian and Mahommedan worlds may

<sup>1</sup> This paper was among the completed work left by Mr. F. W. Hasluck, and, by permission of his wife, is now published to complete the series of studies on religious transferences which he had contributed to the *Annual*.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Murray, *Egypt* (1900), 380-1; Sladen, *Orient. Cairo*, 183, and *Queer Things about Egypt*, 198; Goldziher, *Culte des Saints* . . . *Musulmans in Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii. (1880), 345.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Petermann, *Reisen*, ii. 384.

<sup>4</sup> See my article in *B.S.A.* xxi. (1914-16), 64 ff.

therefore be attempted with more than usual accuracy, and is thus of considerable interest and value for the study of kindred phenomena.

A more appropriate place of origin for a superstition so distinctly theological in character and shared by the two great religions of the eastern Mediterranean could not be found than Jerusalem; and we shall not go far astray if we accept it hypothetically as such. Certainly it is from Jerusalem that the earliest record comes to us of the ordeal of passage, and at Jerusalem that the rite continued to be practised, though on varying holy sites, almost to our own day.

In 723 S. Willibald, on pilgrimage to the Holy City, visited on his round the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Here, he says, stood two columns 'within the church, against the north wall and the south wall, in memory of the two men who said, "Men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?"'<sup>1</sup> And the man who can creep between the wall and the columns will have remission of his sins.'<sup>2</sup>

It does not seem possible with the knowledge at our disposal to refine on Willibald's account as to the position of the columns. The point of the ordeal was certainly, as at Cairo, that the aperture, here between the columns and the wall, was narrow, and we may perhaps assume from this the fairly usual Byzantine arrangement of a column facing an anti-pilaster in the adjoining wall. The symbolism of the 'Men of Galilee' seems certainly no more than an ingenuity; that of the rite itself seems to depend on the texts of S. Matthew, which use the image of a narrow passage to illustrate the difficulty of salvation.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, we may bear in mind the special significance in the church of the Ascension, marking the spot where Christ entered into heaven, of two texts frequently displayed in Greek churches. These are

<sup>1</sup> Acts i. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Wright, p. 19. The original text runs:—*illa ecclesia est desuper patula et sine tecto: et ibi stant duae columnae intus in Ecclesia contra parietem Aquilonis, et contra parietem meridionalis plagae. Illae sunt ibi in memoriam et in signum duorum virorum qui dixerunt: Viri Galilaei, quid statis adspicientes in coelum? Et ille homo, qui ibi potest inter parietem et columnas repere, liber est a peccatis suis* (Willibaldus, *Vita seu Hodosporicon*, p. 376, in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened., Saec. III. pt. ii. pp. 365 ff.*: also in *Camisii Thesaurus*, ed. Basnage, ii. 111-12, quoted by Tobler, *Siloahq.* u. Oelberg, 94-5.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. vii. 13-14 ('Enter ye in at the strait gate . . . strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life'), and xix. 24 ('It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God'). Cf. Mark, x. 25; Luke, xviii. 25.

(1) 'this is none other than the House of God, *this is the gate of heaven*,'<sup>1</sup> and (2) 'this is the *gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter into it*.'<sup>2</sup> And it is not impossible that these were written over, or in close proximity to, the two narrow openings through which it was customary in Willibald's time for pilgrims to pass as a test of grace.<sup>3</sup>

As to the exact meaning of Willibald's *liber est a peccatis suis*, it is perhaps impossible to dogmatise, but some light may be thrown on the subject by the parallel of Mount Sinai. Here the ascent of the holy mountain was restricted to pilgrims who had been duly confessed, and a certificate of confession was required of them at the beginning of the ascent, which was marked by a gateway. The restriction was justified by the text, 'Who shall go up to the holy hill of the Lord, and who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart.'<sup>4</sup> Felix Faber informs us<sup>5</sup> that Jews, who according to mediaeval ideas were vicariously guilty of Christ's blood and therefore could not have ritually clean hands, were supernaturally prevented from passing the gate.<sup>6</sup> It may have been the custom to confess pilgrims before admitting them to the sanctuary of the holy hill of Olivet.<sup>7</sup>

What appears to be a variant of the same rite in the church of the Ascension, due probably to structural alterations involving the removal

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxviii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxviii. 20: Burckhardt notes the presence of this text over a door in the village of Shmerrin (*Travels in Syria*, 105).

<sup>3</sup> Similarly, on the way from Mecca to Arafat there are two pillars of whitewashed stones called el Aalameyn, about 80-100 paces apart: pilgrims must pass between them on their way to and—still more—from Arafat (Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 113).

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xxiv. 3-4. My authority is E. H. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 105, quoting R. Clayton's *Journey to Mt. Sinai by the Prefetto of Egypt* (1722). According to G. Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 313 f.) a second paper was also given to them at the convent to be given up at the second gate.

<sup>5</sup> *Evagat.* ed. Hassler, ii. 455.

<sup>6</sup> Similar cases of supernatural intervention for religious reasons are given by Petachia, *Tour du Monde*, in *Nouv. Jour. Asiat.*, viii. (1831), 296-300 (tomb of Ezechiel surrounded by a wall without a gate and with only a hole, through which Jews crawl: on the Feast of Tabernacles, however, it enlarges so that a man on a camel may pass through), and by Mandeville, ed. Wright, 199 (Mahommed's entry into a small, low hermit's chapel in the desert of Arabia caused the low entrance to become 'so great, and so large, and so high, as though it had been of a great minster, or the gate of a palace').

<sup>7</sup> Near the tombs of Hillel and Shammai at Meron there was a stone basin found full of water by pious persons but empty by the impious, though the basin had no outlet (Petachia, *loc. cit.* 392, quoted by Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, 311). The pious could pass under the suspended coffin of Daniel at Susa but not the impious (Petachia, *loc. cit.* 366).

or modification of the original passages,<sup>1</sup> is described by Felix Faber as practised in his time by oriental Christians. This rite consisted in embracing a certain column of the church. If the pilgrim could span it so as to make his fingers touch, it was welcomed as a happy omen,<sup>2</sup> but of *what* Faber does not know or contemptuously declines to state. We shall see, however, that the ritual has a place in the story of the 'Columns of Ordeal.'

In the crypt containing the tomb of S. Pelagia,<sup>3</sup> which is in the immediate vicinity of the church of the Ascension, the rite described by Willibald seems to have survived in a slightly modified form. It is described by two Greek pilgrims of (approximately) 1185 and 1250,<sup>4</sup> and again by Felix Faber<sup>5</sup> in 1489. All the accounts are substantially in accord. It was customary for penitents to squeeze through the narrow passage between the tomb and the wall of the crypt, their ability to do this being considered as proof that they were in a state of grace: if their previous confession had been defective, they were unable to pass. Here again the reminiscence of Sinai is strong. It is curious to note that S. Pelagia is known to Mahommedans as the daughter of Hassan el Basri,<sup>6</sup> and that the tomb of the latter has a similar peculiarity.<sup>7</sup>

The seventeenth century sees a reappearance of the same superstition, again in a slightly modified form, in yet another Christian building, the church of the Holy Sepulchre. It seems indeed as if Moslem encroachments were continually driving it to new surroundings.

<sup>1</sup> In the interval between the two accounts the church had been rebuilt by the Crusaders and destroyed by Saladin (Tobler, *Siloahq.* 97).

<sup>2</sup> 'Putant autem illi superstitiosi orientales, quod ille, qui id facere potest, sit magis fortunatus, et quod sit signum cujusdam magni boni' (*Evagal.* ed. Hassler, ii. 134).

<sup>3</sup> Her cell and tomb are traceable back to A.D. 600 (Antoninus of Piacenza) according to Tobler, *Siloahq.* 126.

<sup>4</sup> Anon. *Allatii*, p. 87, *de locis Hierosol.* (in L. Allatius, *Συμμετρίδ.*, c. 1185 (Tobler, *Siloahq.* 130, puts the Anon. c. 1400), and Perdicas in L. Allatius, *Συμμετρίδ.*, Col. *Ag.* 1653, 72, c. 1250.

<sup>5</sup> *Evagal.* ed. Hassler, i. 398: cf. Grethenius in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, 180.

<sup>6</sup> Rabahet Bent Hassan el Masri (Tobler, *Siloahq.* 126).

<sup>7</sup> Niebuhr, *Voy. en Arabie*, ii. 181 (Old Basra). His *kubbe* fell twice and he appeared and said he wished no *kubbe* but a tower, his tomb to be against the wall to prevent circumambulation. Pelagia's tomb was sometimes confounded with S. Mary of Egypt (el Masri), Pelagia's history being similar to the Magdalene's (Tobler, *Siloahq.* 133). It became difficult of access for Christians about 1500, according to Tobler, *Siloahq.* 131, when a mosque was built over it. Medjir-ed-Din (p. 132) at this date says it was much visited by pilgrims, but he does not mention the tomb.

Near the chapel of Christ's Prison Doubdan <sup>1</sup> in 1652 notices two small columns between which and the wall pilgrims squeezed their way, confident that a successful passage was an index, not of remission of sins, but of legitimacy. The same superstition is described by Nau <sup>2</sup> in 1674, who, however, makes the passage between the two columns themselves. To the complete change in the object of the ritual we shall return in the discussion of the Moslem variants. Side by side with it was current, as we see from Le Bruyn's account,<sup>3</sup> the idea of proving that the penitent was in a state of grace.

Of the chapel of S. Longinus in the Sepulchre church Kelly says: <sup>4</sup> 'Beneath one of the altars lies a stone having a hole through it, and placed in a short trough, so that it seems impossible for anything but a spectre to pass through the hole. Nevertheless the achievement was a customary penance among the Greeks, and called by them "Purgatory": until a lady, *enceinte*, in labouring to drag herself through it, came to some mischief; and ever since that accident, the Turks have in mercy guarded the stone by an iron grating.'

This concludes the record of the columns of ordeal in Christian sanctuaries at Jerusalem, unless we include as such the unsatisfactory mention of a similar rite, of which the purpose is not stated, practised in the church of Mount Zion in Crusading times.

Ante Chorum quaedam pretiosi marmoris  
columna juxta murum posita est, quam  
simplices homines circummigrare solent.<sup>5</sup>

Summing up, we may distinguish two modifications of the oldest form of the rite (passing between column and wall) and a complete bifurcation of its purpose:—

(a) At S. Pelagia's passage is not between column and wall but between tomb and wall.

(b) In the Holy Sepulchre church passage is between column and wall or between two columns.

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage de la Terre Sainte* 1651-2, Paris, 1657, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> M. Nau, *Voy. Nouv. de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1679, p. 193 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage* (1683), ii. 258 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Kelly, *Syria and the Holy Land*, 367, quoting Vere Monro, *Summer Ramble in Syria*, 1835, 216-17. A similar story is cited from d'Estourmel, *Journal*, ii. 93, 1832, by Tobler (*Golgatha*, 1851, 337) in whose time the tradition seems to have been forgotten.

<sup>5</sup> Theodericus, *De Locis Sanctis* (c. 1172), ed. Tobler, 56.

(c) In the later ritual of the Ascension church passage of any sort is abandoned in favour of embracing the single column used for the rite. The original symbolism is lost, but it must be noted that the object of the later rite is not stated.

The first record of the practice by Moslems of the Column ordeal is no earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century. The place is Jerusalem and the building the Dome of the Rock. It is, of course, unsafe to infer that the practice is not earlier, particularly as the whole Haram area, and especially the interior of the Dome of the Rock, was rigorously forbidden to non-Moslems down to our own time. But the silence of both Crusaders and Moslem writers on the subject, and the warning of one of the latter (Medjir-ed-Din) <sup>1</sup> against the superstitious practice of the Christians on the Mount of Olives, make it likely that the Column ordeal in the Dome of the Rock is not much more ancient than our first records.

It will be further noted that the Dome of the Rock, whence Mahomet took his miraculous flight to heaven, makes the rite appropriate in the same sense as it is appropriate for Christians in the church of the Ascension; and that the traditional identification of the Rock as Bethel,<sup>2</sup> the scene of Jacob's vision,<sup>3</sup> makes it a second time a symbolical entry to heaven. Further, that the text, Matthew xix. 24, is familiar to Moslems from its adaptation in the Koran,<sup>4</sup> which says that unbelievers shall not 'enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle.'<sup>5</sup>

Finally, we must point out as at least an extraordinary series of coincidences that the crypt of the Dome of the Rock passed for the place where Christ forgave the adulterous woman and was thence known in Frankish times as *confessio*,<sup>6</sup> exactly as the cave below the church of the Ascension in which the ex-harlot Pelagia passed her days of penitence was known as *ἀγία ὁμολόγησις*.

The two accounts of the Column ordeal, as practised in the middle seventeenth century by Moslems in the Dome of the Rock, refer to an

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1495, quoted by Tobler, *Siloahq.* 124. Cf. the long and explicit description of the building given by Frater Philippus de Aversa, for which see *Zeit. D. Pal. Ver.*, i. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Lubomirski, *Jerus.* 272.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxviii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> vii. 38 (Sale's ed. p. 108).

<sup>5</sup> Tobler, *Jerusalem*, i. 544; cf. Theodericus, *De Locis Sanctis*, 43, 123.

<sup>6</sup> Tobler, *Siloahq.* 127f.



identical pair of columns, distinct from those of the structure itself, and placed near the western entrance. Brother Eugene Roger (1653) says that it was commonly said of them that any one who could pass easily between them was predestined for the Moslem paradise, and that if a Christian made the attempt he would inevitably be crushed by them.<sup>1</sup> D'Arvieux (1660), our second authority, says that they were used as an oracle of *legitimacy* and that bastards were unable to make the passage, at least not without great difficulty.<sup>2</sup> The practice of the ordeal on the Dome of the Rock is not cited by any subsequent writer.

The association of the two ideas, (1) fitness for heaven and (2) legitimacy, has already met us at the Holy Sepulchre and will meet us again later. What is the point of contact between the two ideas?

A possible answer may be found in the fact that in Moslem, and to a certain extent also in Jewish theology, the relation of the soul to the Creator is habitually figured as that of a wife to her husband. As the chief virtue of a man is faithfulness to God, so that of a woman is faithfulness to her husband: infidelity is in either case the cardinal sin.<sup>3</sup> On the fidelity of the wife depends the legitimacy of her offspring, and both would be satisfactorily tested if a pregnant woman passed successfully between the miraculous columns. The passage of pregnant women is indeed several times mentioned, though it is obvious that the rite was shared by others (possibly at first babies) with the object of proving their own legitimacy.<sup>4</sup>

The ordeal of the columns is found a second time under Moslem auspices in Jerusalem at the mosque El Aksa in the Haram. Here it is mentioned by numerous authors of the 'seventies,<sup>5</sup> and Conder tells us

<sup>1</sup> Chateaubriand, *Itin.* ii. 376.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires*, ii. 210 f. retailing information gathered from monks employed in repairing the windows of the mosque.

<sup>3</sup> For the same collocation of ideas note that in judging the markings of Arab horses a star on the shank is held to presage that the animal's owner will be of doubtful orthodoxy as a Musulman, and that his wife will be unfaithful (Kelly, *Syria and the Holy Land*, 446).

<sup>4</sup> Predestination includes a wide range of ideas, among which are (1) virtue, (2) freedom from mortal sin, (3) state of grace, (4) belief (for Moslems), the central idea being fitness for heaven.

<sup>5</sup> Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, 232; Lady Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, 379; J. A. Bost, *Souvenirs d'Orient* (1874); Pierotti, *Légendes racontées*, 33 f. (he says they are *verd-antique* in colour and taper); Lubormirski, *Jerus.* (1878), 277. De Vogüé, *Syrie, Palestine, Mont Athos*, 1876, 202 f. gives an amusing description of the ceremony. Tobler in his *Jerusalem* (1853) does not mention the superstition; it will be remembered that access to the Haram was still in his time almost impossible.

that it was forbidden in 1881, when the space between the columns was blocked by an iron bar to prevent the passage. The purpose of the rite seems to have been exclusively to test the suppliant's fitness for heaven.

Outside Jerusalem the rite has been copied (apparently) at Urfa (Edessa) in the Jacobite crypt of S. Ephraem under the Armenian monastery of S. Sergius, though no definite purpose is attributed to it by our single authority,<sup>1</sup> who says, 'Before the grave is a rock-hewn column near the wall, between which and the wall every one tries to pass.'

What seems a certain case of plagiarism from the rite of S. Pelagia's church is found at Hassa Keui in Cappadocia, the alleged place of burial of S. Macrina, sister of S. Gregory. Pilgrims to the tomb ordinarily circumambulate it, but if they have made a vow to the saint which they have failed to fulfil, they are arrested by a supernatural force at a place where a corner of the sarcophagus approaches to within a few inches of the wall.<sup>2</sup>

Another derivative from the original rite of the Ascension church, very possibly dating from the Crusades,<sup>3</sup> is at Nivelles in Belgium, where, in the church of S. Gertrude, 'dans une chapelle . . . un pilier monolithe de 1<sup>m</sup>30 de hauteur et de 24 c. de diamètre environ, sans utilité spéciale dans la bâtisse, est appuyé sur une base reliée au mur et distancée du sol par deux marches. Le peuple prétend que toute personne qui n'est pas en état de grâce ne peut passer entre le mur et le pilier : l'espacement est environ de 30 centimètres.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. Petermann, *Reisen*, ii. 354 (Leipzig, 1865).

<sup>2</sup> Carnoy et Nicolaïdes, *Trads. de l'Asie Mineure*, 206. For analogies see above, p. 70, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the legend of S. Hubert spread from Rome to Belgium because many relics had been carried there, see my forthcoming *Transferences*. Secular counterparts of the dispersion of stories of the saints are found in two legends related by Baring Gould (*Curious Myths*, 2nd series, 206 ff., 314 ff.). The first is the legend of Melusine, the fairy ancestress of the Lusignans of Poitou, the second tells how an ancestor of the Belgian Godefroi de Bouillon met Beatrice, a mysterious woman, near a fountain, and eventually married her. That is, two Persian-coloured tales of fairy ancestors were told in Poitou and Belgium of noble houses which became conspicuously famous in the Crusades. Troubadours were the main agents in the circulation of such stories, but another important factor was the settlement of Crusaders in their newly-conquered lands in the East. The first generation of settlers, whether mixed in race or not, were naturally bilingual and thus ideal transmuters of Arabic originals into French, reacting first on pilgrims but ultimately on the Europe these represented and their own European homes.

<sup>4</sup> Sebillot, *Folklore de France*, iv. 157, quoting O. Colson, *Il'llonia*, iii. 15. Sebillot's very thorough work gives no parallel in the French area. S. Gertrude's is a Benedictine abbey church founded by S. Gertrude in 645.

On the Moslem side, the three examples from Northern Africa which follow are quite clearly derivatives from the Jerusalem prototypes, all having in common both the form of the rite, passage between columns, and its main object, proof of orthodox religious sentiments.

To the Columns of Ordeal in the mosque of Amr at Fostat (Old Cairo) we have already referred. Though the main purpose of the ordeal here is as above stated, Douglas Sladen in his *Queer Things about Egypt*<sup>1</sup> hints that they are also used as a test of women's chastity. We have already remarked that the practice does not seem here to be ancient, probably deriving directly from the Aksa mosque at Jerusalem.

Similar Columns of Ordeal are mentioned as existing in the mosque of Amr at Damietta. The space between them may be traversed only by 'the virtuous,' presumably, here as elsewhere, persons in a state of grace or believers.<sup>2</sup>

At the mosque of Sidi Okba in the holy city of Kairouan in Tunisia are likewise a pair of such columns;<sup>3</sup> they are of red porphyry and are used as a test of Moslem orthodoxy or as a cure for rheumatism! Like those of El Aksa they taper towards the top, so that with a little chicanery a tall man stands a better chance of passing than a shorter patient of like build.

Vaujany speaks of the Columns of Ordeal as a not infrequent feature in Egyptian mosques. Considering the importance of the mosques of Amr and Sidi Okba it would not be surprising to find them widely distributed in North Africa.

Two cases of an ordeal involving passage between natural rocks as a test of spiritual acceptability may be here cited. (1) At Hadji Bektash, the chief seat of the (*Shia*) Bektashi sect, pilgrims make the passage of a natural rock tunnel with a view to proving their sincerity of purpose. The aperture is narrow, and it is customary for the pilgrim to remove his arms before making the attempt; with arms passage is reputed impossible, though, according to my informants, a certain Albanian *bey*, who refused to conform to the rule, passed successfully; he was rewarded for his presumption by an early death.<sup>4</sup> (2) Of a closely similar rite in

<sup>1</sup> P. 198; cf. his *Oriental Cairo*, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, 205. For another column of predestination, this time at Bethlehem, see Tobler, *Bethlehem*, 90.

<sup>3</sup> Poiré, *La Tunisie Française*, Paris, 1892, 187-8.

<sup>4</sup> From Kemal Bey Klissoura, and his brother, Fadil Bey.

Morocco I am informed by a friend long resident in Fez, whose words I quote. 'An eyewitness here, credible, informs me that there is at a mountain sanctuary called Mulai Abdslam bel Meshish, a well-known place in the mountains South of Tetuan, just outside the shrine, a sort of cave, with a narrow entrance between two rocks. Only one who is "murda" can pass in. If not "murda," the rocks would crush you. "Murda" is a technical word meaning "acceptable," with special reference to God and your parents. The local tradition in this place seems to know nothing of bastardy: it is morals of which it is the touchstone.'<sup>1</sup>

The close resemblance of these two instances may be merely fortuitous, or both may alike depend on a prototype unknown to us, possibly in the *Shia* holy places. Their ultimate relation with the Jerusalem group must be regarded as 'not proven' pending further evidence or indication.

Two instances of embracing a column for oracular purposes, as in the second phase of the Ascension church ritual, may or may not be connected with our series. The embracing ritual in itself is early and obviously derives from the enthusiastic salutation of the venerated object by pilgrims. It is mentioned in connexion with the Column of Flagellation on Mount Zion by Antoninus of Piacenza.<sup>2</sup>

The first of these instances is at Meshed Ali, one of the great holy places of *Shia* Islam, where there is a piece of a column, reputed brought thither by Ali himself. This is used as an oracle of legitimacy, bastards being unable to make their fingers meet round it.<sup>3</sup>

The second is at Alexandrowo in Serbian Macedonia, where a *tekke* of the Bektashi (a *Shia* sect) contains a miraculous square pillar, which, supposedly brought there by a Bosnian saint, is embraced by pilgrims. If they can make the fingers of their two hands meet round the pillar, their prayer is granted.<sup>4</sup>

The connexion of the two *Shia* rites seems obvious, the generalisation of the purpose of the ordeal in the derivative at Alexandrowo being characteristic. It would be dangerous without further evidence to connect them with the second ritual of the Ascension church, though it will be remarked that the purpose of the latter has not come down to us.

F. W. HASLUCK.

<sup>1</sup> From Mr. J. M. Dawkins.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Tobler, xxii. p. 24; Kelly, *Syria*, 366.

<sup>3</sup> Niebuhr, *Voy. en Arabie*, ii. 216.

<sup>4</sup> Evans in *J.H.S.*, xxi. 203.

## THE SO-CALLED 'SARDANAPALUS.'

(PLATES III.—V.)

THE torso of this type published by Arndt in 1893<sup>1</sup> was found at Athens in the Theatre of Dionysos in 1865 and put into the magazine of the National Museum. In the register of the Acropolis Museum shortly after 1891 is entered the fragment of a bearded head, consisting of the front upper part to the lips, again found on the South Slope, which was placed in the Acropolis Museum magazine. To this in 1918 Dr. Keramopoulos joined the lower part of the beard, which had also been among the fragments there. At the end of 1920 I was fortunate enough to notice the connexion between the torso of the National Museum and the head of the Acropolis Museum. The touching surface leaves no doubt that they originally formed part of the same statue, and the combination (unrestored except for plaster in the irregular joins of head with beard and beard with body) appears to represent a straightforward copy of about the beginning of the first century B.C. (Pl. III.).<sup>2</sup> That, though accurate in essentials, it was not highly finished, may be seen by examining the line where the hair leaves the side of the forehead, the ends of the curls on the *chiton*, and the summary, but confident, treatment of material both in *chiton* and *himation*: yet the work can at once be seen to be softer, fresher, and more valuable stylistically than the conventional herms of Naples,<sup>3</sup> Palermo,<sup>4</sup> and the Uffizi.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, 714.

<sup>2</sup> Pentelic marble. Total height 1.23 m. The upper part of the head was referred to by Sanborn in a paper read at Athens in or about 1912. The cruciform arrangement of marks on the forehead shows that the defacement here was at Christian hands: the injuries to the right eye are also clearly deliberate.

<sup>3</sup> Guida, No. 273, p. 88. The herm-bust as well as the nose is restored.

<sup>4</sup> Arndt-Amelung, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

<sup>5</sup> MacDowall, *J.H.S.*, xxiv. (1904), p. 255, note 1, *d.* I was not able to see this head in Florence; very probably its position has been altered during the recent rearrangement of the Museum.

In a comparison with the head of the Vatican statue, of the twelve most obvious measurements eight correspond to within one millimetre : of the remainder the most important difference is in the height of the eye, where the maker of the statue in Rome has entirely missed the subtlety of curve in the lids, just as elsewhere in the face he has missed the subtlety of the modelling.<sup>1</sup>

In the body there is considerable variation both in measurement and technical treatment. The variation of measurements is probably to be explained by the fact that the Athens copyist either took too few points from his cast, or that he used a cast for the head only and a model of smaller scale for the body (Fig. 1). The difference in technical treatment is partly due to facility and hastiness in the Athens copyist : the maker of the Vatican statue had less ability and less artistic feeling but perhaps less imperfect mechanical appliances. His larger measurements are probably the more correct, but his work generally is much harder and more lifeless, while he can be just as summary and careless as the other, witness his work with the drill in the folds at the bottom of the *chiton*. The question of the accuracy of the Athens copy is important, for it throws the only light we have on the problem raised by its provenance. If the original was an Attic work, by far the most satisfactory hypothesis to account for the setting up of a copy in the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens in early Roman times, is that the original, of bronze, was carried off to Rome, while the Pentelic marble suggests that the copy was made at the same time in Athens. This hypothesis would not only account for the finding of a number of copies in and near Rome, but would also explain certain of the technical differences between the two copies with which we are dealing. Some of the hardness of the Vatican statue, especially in the drapery, may be due to the retention of the firmer lines of the metal. The Athens work may be a partial translation, by a copyist of some artistic feeling, from the technique of bronze to that

<sup>1</sup>	<i>Discrepancies in remainder :</i>	Vatican.	Athens.
	Upper edge of fillet . . . .	10 m.	115 m.
	Lowest point hole of right ear to right inner eye corner . . . .	121 m.	115 m.*
	Lowest point right ear to highest point forehead . . . . .	198 m.	192 m.*
	Height of eye (max. excl. lids) . .	113 m.	113 m.

\* Approximate owing to breakage.

of marble: he could not depart from the main features of the original bronze conception, *i. e.* the structural design of hair, beard and drapery,



	Vatican.	Athens.
1.	'34 m.	'34 m.
2.	'31 m.	'32 m.
3.	'40 m.	'395 m.
4.	'443 m.	'485 m.
5.	'122 m.	'112 m.
6.	'143 m.	'127 m.
⊙	perhaps 'points'	

FIG. 1.—THE ATHENS 'SARDANAPALUS' AS COMPARED WITH THE VATICAN STATUE.

but he could, and did, soften the transitions from plane to plane, and left out the metallic chasing finish. On the left side, too, he brought the lower edge of the cross-fold back against the main drapery instead of

making it overhang by undercutting: the hair, on the other hand, where it waves back sharply from the side of the forehead, is strictly reproduced in its intricate arrangement of interlacing strands, with deep undercutting and angular curves which are meaningless in marble.

Amongst many examples the Amazon head in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (Orti Mecenaziani, No. 3), which is certainly an unmodified translation from bronze to marble, well illustrates how the elegance of the intricate coils of hair, beautiful though it is, becomes cold and almost unpleasing without the life which would be given to it by the lustre



FIG. 2.—TREATMENT OF HAIR IN MARBLE COPY OF BRONZE ORIGINAL.

of metal (Fig. 2). In the hair of the Athens "Sardanapalus" something of the same kind is evident: it has indeed been mistaken for the last traces of archaism. On the crown of the head there is a parallel difference between Athens and the Vatican. The former has the same main design of striated lines radiating from the crown, with a hint of other lines between: the latter subsidiary divisions marked. We may assume that the Palermo copy gives the original treatment quite closely, showing as it does each main division further divided by at least two lines parallel to the main ones: this treatment, which clearly demands metal to show its full beauty, is thus quite close to that of the corresponding part in the Eirene of Munich, again a copy from bronze (Fig. 3). In the drapery,



the economy of line in the design of primary folds, combined with the play of carefully-subordinated small surfaces in detail, is just such a method as gives life to work in bronze, while the suitability of that material for rendering the contrast between the folds of *chiton* and *himation*, by fine incision and broad planes respectively, is evident; and a good example, the fragment from Cyzicus in Berlin, has been pointed out by Amelung.<sup>1</sup> In particular, on the left side of the Vatican 'Sardanapalus' the sharp lower edge of the cross-fold of the *himation*

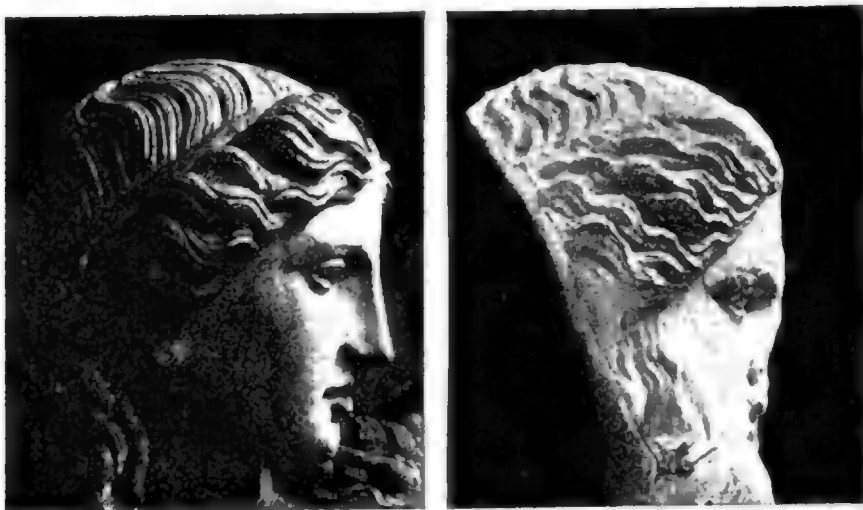


FIG. 3.—TREATMENT OF HAIR OF THE EIRENE (MUNICH) COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE ATHENS HEAD (from Casts).

with its deep undercutting and its folds dependent from the elbow: below it the great tubular and scroll-like folds of the *himation* itself, hanging not only clear of the body at the side, but free of the *chiton* in front, favour strongly the derivation from a bronze original.

Before proceeding to a judgment of the style of that original, we must put aside those copies which add nothing to our knowledge of it. In the British Museum statue from Posilipo, which, as Arndt suggested,<sup>2</sup> is not to be considered as an exact replica, the number of folds is multiplied and their functional character emphasised; but it would be a mistake to assume, with Amelung, that this shows an

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1915, p. 279 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Arndt-Amelung, *op. cit.*, 557.

earlier taste than is apparent in the Roman group. This copy would seem to be of Hadrianic date, and the copyist has conceived and carried out the drapery under the influence of the treatment generally employed in the rendering of the *toga*, a treatment which was the

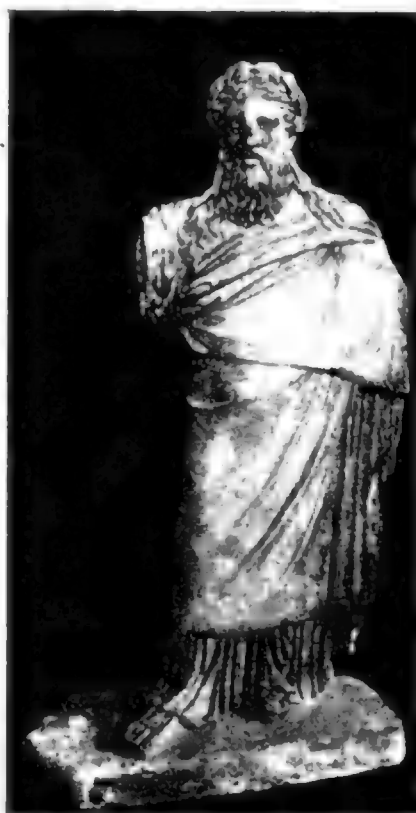


FIG. 4.—THE CRETAN 'SARDANAPALUS' (from the Original).

outcome of a renewed study of nature.<sup>1</sup> The head also has undergone modification, and we must beware of making it a criterion for the style

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Forsdyke kindly informs me that the British Museum copy agrees in the measurements of the head with the Vatican and Athens copies, and so should derive from the same original or a copy of the same original. We may recall the Persephone type of the late fifth or early fourth century, which undergoes a like modification in the drapery at the hands of sculptors of the Roman period. Compare the Eleusis relief cited by Amelung, *Basis*, p. 53, with the same type used in a Roman portrait statue, Helbig<sup>2</sup>, 1174 (Lateran). Less closely-dated copies of the same type modified in a similar way are too numerous to mention.

of the original, as Amelung inclines to do at the end of his paper. The ivy-wreathed head found in the American excavations at Corinth, an unpleasing work perhaps of the late first century A.D., is a genuine copy, though the craftsman has made one considerable error of measurement.<sup>1</sup> It was inset into the statue, has a high polish on the face (like the Naples herm), but is scarcely worked on top: while the hair is less crisp and more commonplace than in any other example. What seems



FIG. 5.—THE CRETAN 'SARDANAPALUS' (from Casts).

to be the base, much mutilated, lies near the small Greek temple north of the fountain of Peirene.<sup>2</sup> Such measurements as are possible correspond with the British Museum statue, and the left foot projects from the drapery.

The unrestored statuette at the Villa Ariadne, Knossos, found in the vineyard there, published here by permission of Sir Arthur Evans and illustrated in Figs. 4 and 5, is a reduced copy (total height excluding base .61 m.).

<sup>1</sup> Also mentioned in the paper referred to in note 2, p. 78. Greyish island marble. Measurements agree with the Vatican statue except in this particular: lowest point right ear to highest point forehead:—Vatican .198 m.; Corinth .176 m. Do. left side:—Vatican .203 m.; Corinth .19 m.

<sup>2</sup> *A.J.A.*, vi. (1902), Pl. XVII.

It has the ivy-wreath, as in the British Museum and Corinth examples, is of poor workmanship, somewhat simplified, and provides only one new detail of importance, the butt of the thyrsus on the base. At the back the diagonal folds are interrupted by the *glutei*, and not carried through from left shoulder to right side as in the Vatican, Athens, and British Museum statues. The left foot again projects from the drapery.<sup>1</sup>

The provenance of the Athens head and comparison with all other reproductions of the type give ground for supposing it to be the purest in style. Though a copy, it may thus reasonably be used in judging the style of the original head; for the style of the body, until further



FIG. 6.—PEIRAEUS HEAD COMPARED WITH EPHEBE FROM THE ACROPOLIS.

evidence is available, we must be content with the Vatican statue. How are previous opinions affected by the new factor of the Athens fragment? The less general view, that the 'Sardanapalus' was a work of the Pheidias circle, is seriously weakened, if not disproved, by the discovery of the fine Peiraeus head (Pl. IV.), almost certainly representing a Dionysos. It seems to be the purest and most careful replica of a common type: a copy from bronze, as may be seen from the free curls on the temples, from other details of the hair, and from the careful reproduction of breaks in the metal where those curls are secured by the hair-band

<sup>1</sup> This feature, though it seems, especially in the British Museum copy, to disturb the balance of the statue, was almost certainly present in the original. The Vatican statue has a projection in the *chiton* at ground-level which is of the same breadth as the remains of the British Museum left foot.

(Pl. IV.).<sup>1</sup> Comparison with the ephebe head of the Acropolis<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 6), which has been claimed as an original by Pheidias himself, and at least, from the strikingly close connexion it has with the finest work on the

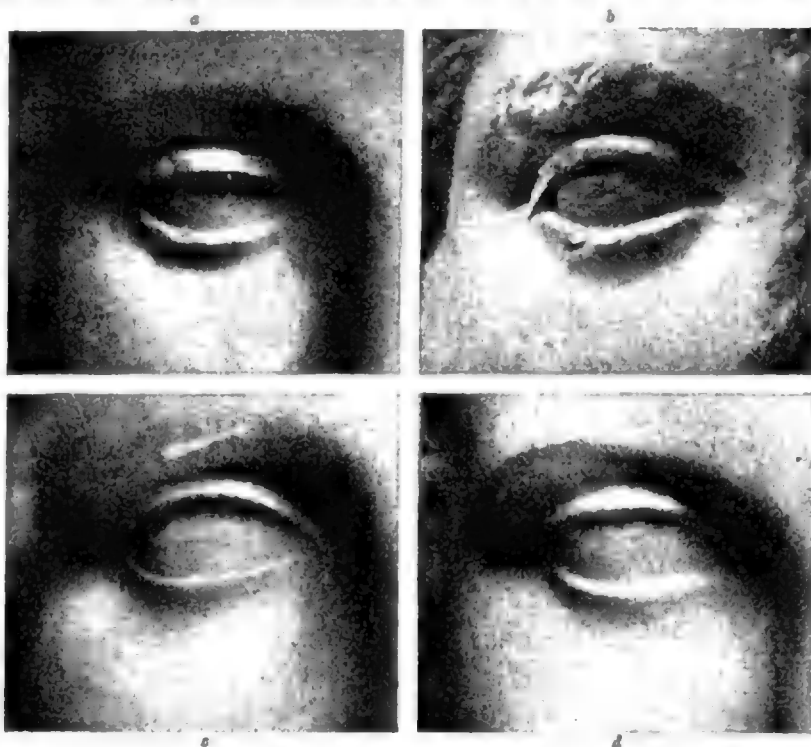


FIG. 7.—TREATMENT OF EYE IN (a) EIRENE, (b) ATHENS 'SARDANAPALUS,' (c) PETWORTH APHRODITE, (d) HERMES OF OLYMPIA.

Parthenon frieze, must belong to his circle, shows clearly that the Attic mid fifth-century bearded Dionysos was not of the 'Sardanapalus' type;

<sup>1</sup> Peiraeus Museum. No. 374. Pentelic marble. Unrestored. Found September 1st, 1914, in the house of Antonios Kanellas, Valaneion St., Peiraeus, in a cistern, apparently on the site of ancient baths. Total height to present lowest point of beard .32 m. Breadth of head (immediately below ears) .15 m. approx. Breadth of face across eyes (outer corner of lids) .11 m. Breadth of face (outer ends eyebrow-bones as far back as front of clustering locks) .137 m. Lowest point of hair-band to lowest point of upper lip .148 m. Mouth (at level of lowest point of upper lip to inside edges of moustache) .045 m. Height of eye (max. excl. lids) .037 m. Length of eye (excl. lids) .014 m. Height of ear (max.) .056 m. In the numerous adaptations of the type to herm form, the hair is almost invariably modified by the addition of shoulder-locks, and the arrangement at the back conventionalised.

<sup>2</sup> Dickens, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, i. p. 266, No. 699.

but shows at the same time what the creator of the 'Sardanapalus,' at least fifty years later, owed to it as a prototype. It is to the Attic school of the fourth century that the 'Sardanapalus' belonged, and much general evidence for assigning it to the Praxitelean circle, cited by Amelung, still remains valid. Compared with the Eirene of Kephisodotos, a sculptor to whom it has been attributed,<sup>1</sup> the eye is more advanced and the modelling more elaborate, though this may be due in part to the hardness of the Munich copy of the Eirene (Pl. V. and Fig. 7).<sup>2</sup> The two are without doubt closely related, but we may reasonably suppose that had Kephisodotos been the sculptor of the Dionysos, some literary evidence would have connected his name with a work evidently so famous in antiquity. There are, moreover, chronological reasons for believing the Eirene to have come late in his career, and other sculptures<sup>3</sup> that we can safely trace to originals by him, show no considerable advance in style. But we can go further than this: the 'Sardanapalus,' on the evidence of the Athens head, can take its place among accepted works which illustrate the evolution of Praxitelean style. Clearly later than the Apollo Sauroktonos, it shows a treatment in detail simpler and perhaps, therefore, earlier than the Hermes of Olympia. Judged by the detail of the eye, the Petworth Aphrodite is earlier than the Hermes, and the 'Sardanapalus' earlier still (Fig. 7). For the hair, we may compare a badly-weathered female head (placed on a body which is foreign to it) at Stockholm (Pl. V. 2).<sup>4</sup> From the nature of the case its evidence is purely internal; but throughout the manner is decidedly Praxitelean.

BERNARD ASHMOLE.

<sup>1</sup> Macchioro, *Jahreshefte*, xii. (1908), p. 189; Wolters, *Jahrbuch*, viii. (1893), p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence of the ear is neutral: missing in the Athens copy, in the Vatican statue, though, like the eye, it is executed without refinement, its main design corresponds to that employed by Praxiteles. We know only the lower part of a Kephisodotean ear.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. Arndt-Amelung, *op. cit.*, 1778 (Madrid).

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Ernst Kjellberg both for drawing my attention to this head and for giving me a photograph of it. There is what I believe to be a replica (set on the body of an Apollo Sauroktonos and injured by drastic cleaning) at Ince-Blundell (Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles*, p. 339, No. 12).

## LACONIA.

### I.—INSCRIPTIONS.

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#### § I.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM SPARTA.

THE authors' aim is to include in this article all the inscriptions on minor votive objects found at Sparta during the excavations, by the British School, of the Sanctuaries of Orthia (in 1906-10) and of Athena Chalkioikos (in 1907-08).<sup>1</sup> They have been arranged according to material, those from each of these two sites being described separately, in the following order: stone, metal, ivory, pottery.

A few of these inscriptions, which have been published already in the *Annual* and subsequently in the Laconian volume of the *Corpus* (*I.G.* v. 1), are re-published here, without facsimiles, for the sake of completeness. Mr. Woodward made copies of almost all these inscriptions in 1907-08, but never completed the material for publication, owing to the claims of other work. Mr. Hondius, in 1921, re-copied and took impressions of all those inscribed on the carvings in soft stone, except Nos. 20 and 21, and with these exceptions his drawings of the unpublished examples are here reproduced.<sup>2</sup> When Mr. Woodward's reading differs from his, the two versions are given. The inscriptions on the ivory flutes (Nos. 26, 27) are from Mr. Hondius's copies, as are Nos. 66 and 69 of those on the bronze objects; Mr. Woodward is responsible for those on Nos. 24, 67, 68 of the same material, which seem to have escaped Mr. Hondius's notice, and for all those on the pottery fragments from both the sites.

The epigraphic and philological commentary on Nos. 1-27 is almost

<sup>1</sup> Stelai dedicated by victors in the *παιδικὸς ἀγὼν* and other formal inscriptions from these sites are omitted, as they have been fully published already.

<sup>2</sup> These drawings are from the pen of Mrs. M. A. Hondius.

all due to the labours of Mr. Hondius, but Mr. Woodward, in addition to supplying the commentary on the rest of the inscriptions, and the notes on the dating and orthography of those from the Orthia Sanctuary, has exercised his discretion in modifying and re-arranging his collaborator's material, though he has added little to it.<sup>1</sup>

I. VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA (Nos. 1-65).

A. On Stone.

These are mostly carvings in soft, fine-grained limestone, with shallow flat relief; Nos. 1, 5, and 22 are carved in the round, and Nos. 11 and 13 have merely incised designs. Many uninscribed examples of them have been published already in the excavation reports,<sup>2</sup> and it is regrettable that the inscribed ones are, oftener than not, incomplete, for some are the merest fragments with no remains of the design and hopelessly mutilated inscriptions. The evidence for their date is briefly summarised below.<sup>3</sup>

1. *B.S.A.* xii. p. 353, No. 1 (= p. 334, fig. 1); *I.G.* v. 1, 252 (with line-drawing).

Ἐπαρίδας τῷ Παρ[θέν | οἱ(?) μ' ἀν]έθ(ε)κε Φορθα[ίαι(?)]

The reading in the *Corpus*, Παρίδας Ταρραῖ[ος, κ.τ.λ. Φορθαίαι] is not borne out by the lettering visible on the stone. The initial Ε is regarded by the Editor as part of the decoration of the mane or trappings of the horse. The letters ΤΑΙΡΑΙ are clearly legible, the loop of the Ρ being, however, lost by the result of the fracture. It is in any case unlikely that a Cretan from Tarra should have dedicated this object at Sparta, though not, of course, impossible. The last letter visible in l. 2 is Α, not Ε (retrograde), and two letters may be lost where the stone is damaged after this point. But Φορθα[ι] or even Φορθά (dative) are possible, and the latter may be paralleled on other votive objects of this class.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Inventory number of the Sparta Museum is placed in brackets after the index number of each inscription, e. g. 3 (1493).

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xii. p. 334 f.; 337, Fig. 4; xiii. p. 360, Fig. 8; xiv. p. 25, Fig. 10; xvi. p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> p. 112 f.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 3, 72; 4 (?); 18 (?); 25; 27 (?).



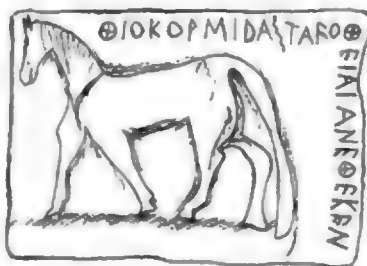
2. Fragment from upper r. corner of relief with horse's head. H. .085; l. .08; th. .035. Letters .005. *B.S.A.* xii. p. 335, Fig. 2, p. 353, No. 2 (not in *I.G.* v. 1).



Probably  $F\rho[\rho\theta] | \epsilon\iota[ai]$ .

The restoration in the *Annual* seems too long to fit the space which is presumably missing. The first symbol in l. 2 is obscure, but more like the remains of  $\epsilon$  than of A.

3 (1493). Relief, unbroken, representing horse walking to l., with inscription in field above and on r. H. .009; l. .132; th. ca. .026. Letters .005, neat and regular.



$\Theta\iotaοκορμίδας τᾷ \text{Fo}(\rho)\thetaεΐαι ἀνέθεκεν.$

There are two small scratches between the  $\iota$  at the end of the goddess's name and the beginning of the verb, not shown in the drawing, which suggest  $\text{N}$ , not  $\text{I}$ , but may be accidental. The omission of  $\rho$  from the name of the goddess is perhaps due to carelessness.

The dedicator's name may be presumed to be equivalent to  $\Thetaεοκοομίδης$  in Ionic. The connection with the root  $\kappaορμός$ , a trunk, seems most improbable, in view of the first syllable. Though the actual name is unknown we may compare  $\Thetaεόκοοσμος$  (from Arcadia, 4th century

B.C., *I.G.* v. 2, 262, l. 5) and Εὐκοσμίδας (Thespieae, *I.G.* vii. 1888); presumably κοσμεῖν here bears the sense of 'to honour'; cf. ἐκόσμησεν ταῖς καθηκούσαις τιμαῖς αὐτοῦς, *I.G.* v. 2, 1146, l. 7. The substitution of ι for ε before a short vowel is a common feature of the Laconian dialect,<sup>1</sup> but that of ρ- for σ- is somewhat strange. In Crete, it is, of course, common, in this very word κορμεῖν = κοσμεῖν, cf. *Leg. Gortyn.* I. ll. 51-2, κορμ[ίοντος]; *S.G.D.I.* 5021, κορμίοντες; *ibid.*, 5029, ἐκόρμιον; *ibid.*, 5025, l. 15, κόρμος.<sup>2</sup> But this does not prove that the dedicator was a Cretan,<sup>3</sup> nor can he be from Elis, where similar rhotacism occurs,<sup>4</sup> as its dialect does not substitute ι for ε before a short vowel.

The examples of final ρ for ς in the Laconian dialect are numerous in the archaizing inscriptions from the sanctuary of Orthia recording victors' dedications in the Boys' contests (*I.G.* v. 1, 286, 292, 294, 301 ff. *passim*), and it is thought that this usage belongs solely to the late Laconian dialect. Thumb points out that neither early inscriptions nor texts give us examples of this substitution, but he has to deal in rather a drastic way with the apparently conflicting evidence to justify this statement,<sup>5</sup> and concludes that it came in for the first time in the post-classical period, perhaps under the influence of the dialect of Elis, which furnishes earlier epigraphical evidence for the usage. Moreover, according to the same authority, the grammarians treated it as an essential element of the Laconian dialect, in the light of their personal experience; and thus the glosses in Hesychius refer, in his view, to words current only in the later dialect.<sup>6</sup>

It must nevertheless be pointed out that we possess only a relatively small number of complete archaic Laconian inscriptions, and that, therefore, their evidence for dialect forms must not be assumed to be exhaustive. Moreover, the derivation of the Laconian rhotacism from the Elean usage is an assumption alike unconvincing and incapable of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* (1909), p. 86, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Thumb, *op. cit.* p. 128, 9<sup>a</sup>. This usage is not early except at Gortyn.

<sup>3</sup> It is not inconceivable that he was of Cretan extraction, though using the Laconian alphabet and dialect; -ε- for -εε- is common to both dialects.

<sup>4</sup> Thumb, *op. cit.* p. 175, 13<sup>b</sup>.

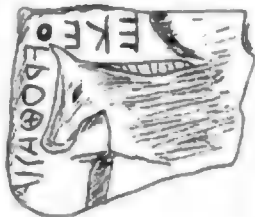
<sup>5</sup> Thus he rejects παλαῖρ in Arist. *Lys.* 988, though read by the best MS. (cf. R. Meister, *Dorer und Achaer*, p. 48), regards the Timotheos decree (Boethius, *de Inst. Mus.* i. 2) as a grammarian's forgery, and distrusts both the state of the text and Wilamowitz's handling of it (Timotheos, *Persai*, p. 70 f.).

<sup>6</sup> *Handbuch*, p. 89, § 95, 2.

proof, and it may be reasonably asserted that the archaistic revival in the second century of our era may go back to a tradition of pronunciation which in some cases has so far failed to come down to us in any epigraphical record. Thus it is by no means impossible that our present instance of  $\rho\mu$ - for  $-\sigma\mu$ - is the first example of a real feature of old Laconian, independently of the question whether  $-\alpha\rho = -\alpha\varsigma$  and  $-\sigma\rho = -\sigma\varsigma$ , for which our inscriptions furnish a negative answer, may be likewise so regarded.

The omission of  $\rho$  from  $F\alpha(\rho)\theta eia\iota$  may be accidental, as none of the other votive inscriptions in which the name occurs, in whatever form it is spelt, omit this letter; nor can an exact parallel be found in any other of the Doric dialects. For the assimilation of  $\rho$  before another consonant we find  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$  (=  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ ), and  $-\alpha\rho\tau$ - becoming  $-\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau$ - ( $\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\varsigma$  =  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\upsilon\varsigma$ ), both in the Gortyn inscription,<sup>1</sup> but for antec consonantal  $\rho$  to disappear ('spurlös versenkt') is almost incredible.  $T\acute{\alpha}$  for  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$  might be merely another slip of the writer's, although  $\tau\acute{\omicron}$  for  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota$  (needlessly altered to  $\tau\acute{\omicron}[i]$  by the editor) in *I.G. v. 1*, 981 is noteworthy in a dedication which may be as early as the 5th century, and we have a dative in  $-\alpha$  on No. 25 below.

4 (1497). Corner of small slab, complete above and on l., with horse's head to l. in low relief, and remains of inscription in field above and on l. H. .085; l. .10; th. .03. Letters .01, on average.



--  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\} \epsilon\kappa\epsilon \text{ } \epsilon\rho\theta\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha(?)$  or  $-\acute{\iota}\alpha[i]$ .

Whether the final *iota* is lost by breakage of the stone, or was omitted as in Nos. 3, 25, 27 (?), assuming this to be intentional, must remain doubtful. For the spelling of the name see p. 117, note 1.

5 (1492). Broken torso of a horse, carved in the round. Head, forelegs and hindquarters are missing. Traces of incisions to indicate the mane, as on No. 1. H. .06; l. .075. Letters *ca.* .005.

<sup>1</sup> Thumb, p. 127, § 141, 6 (b), (c); *S.G.D.I.* 4991.

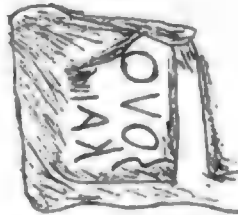


Γαρέας έποιε.

No letter is lost at the beginning, and the only doubt about the reading is whether the third letter might be D, not P, as it certainly resembles the former more than the latter; but if the name is to be explained at all P is more likely. We should in this case associate the name with γαρ- = γηρ-, cf. γήρως, speech,<sup>1</sup> and postulate an earlier form of the name Γαρέφας, as if from the root γαρευ-. The connection with γάρως (= brine-sauce) seems less likely.

This interesting addition to the list of Greek artists' signatures can scarcely be later than about 600 B.C.

6. Small fragment of relief, complete below only, showing apparently one fore-leg of a horse.<sup>2</sup> The inscription in l. 2 (and l. 1?) reads upwards from r. to l. in the field behind this leg. H. .075; l. .065. Letters .013.



-- ουος/και -- [J.J.E.H.].

Bovo --/και -- [A.M.W.].

<sup>1</sup> Cf. γάρων (infinitive) in Pindar, *Ol.* 1, l. 3. The proper name Γήρως is found at Eretria, *I.G.* xii. 9, 234; Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, p. 108, doubts if it is Greek at all, and wrongly suggests a connexion with γήρας = old age. Analogous names seem to be Γηρυδής, Γηρυδών, and Γηρυδδής; cf. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol.*, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> This, or possibly the leg of a throne, seems the most likely explanation. The quality of the work scarcely permits of a definite choice between these alternatives.

The first reading is probably right, and the  $\beta$  may be due to mistaking an accidental cut for its vertical stroke. A name compounded with *Bov-* seems most improbable in a Doric dialect.<sup>1</sup> Consequently we should perhaps read -- ο ὑὸς καὶ --, though the absence of the aspirate is strange. Also the letter after the *alpha* adjoins a damaged portion of the surface, and is a somewhat doubtful *iota*.

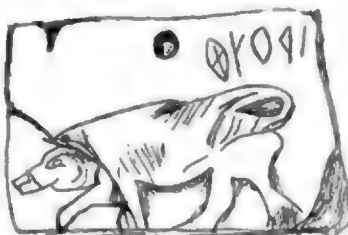
7 (1499). Fragment of a small slab, complete below, and on l. (?), with lion couchant in low relief. Suspension hole in field above. H. .032; l. .045; th. .01. Letters .005.



Τροῦθος.

With this form of name, connected with Στροῦθος, but lacking the *sigma*, cf. Τρούθων, *I.G.* xii. 9, 249 B, l. 75 (Eretria).<sup>2</sup> Other names from the same root are not rare, cf. [Σ]τροῦθος, *S.G.D.I.* 5219, i. 77 (Tauromenium); Στρουθίς, *I.G.* xii. 9, 831; Στρουθίων, Babelon, No. 5211 (Sardes). Names derived from those of birds, of all sizes, are of course extremely common: cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.* pp. 580 ff.

8 (1491). Slab apparently complete, with lower l. corner broken through, representing a wild boar moving to l. H. .12; br. .20; th. .04. Letters .014.



Τρούθ. (= Τρούθ[ος], A.M.W.).

Θυορί (= Θυορί[ς], J.J.E.H.).

<sup>1</sup> Though Herodotus gives us Βούλις as a Spartan name, vii. 134 ff.; the same name is spelt Βούρις, Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 63: cf. Poralla, *Prosopogr. der Lakedaimonier*, No. 176.

<sup>2</sup> And presumably Τρούθιππος, *I.G.* xii. 9, 245 A., l. 386. Should we regard Τρούθες at Hermione, *I.G.* iv. 729, A. l. 18 as = Τρούθος? For the root, cf. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol.*, p. 920, s.v. στρουθός.

While the form of the *upsilon* might justify our reading from l. to r., the retrograde *rho* is a graver obstacle. The subject and style of the relief seem to indicate that this is to be closely associated with No. 7, and that both were dedicated by the same person. In this case we must admit that he neither crossed his initial T nor finished his name; and also employed a different form of *upsilon* from that on the other carving. None of these seems at all improbable in a dedication by an almost illiterate person, as many of those who dedicated these early carvings seem to have been.

Mr. Hondius, who would read  $\Theta\upsilon\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}[\varsigma]$ , in spite of the reversed *rho*, quotes 'θυορίς· τράπεζα πέμματα ἔχουσα,' Pollux, iv. 123, and compares  $\Theta\upsilon\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , Call. *Dian.* 143 (see L. & S. s.v.), and suggests that the word might also signify a priestess, and so form a likely personal name.<sup>1</sup> [But the sporting nature of the subject represented would seem rather more appropriate to a male dedicator. A.M.W.]

9 (1490). Slab, broken on l. (and r. ?), with lion (?) to r. in low relief. Suspension hole above on r. H. .12; l. .17; th. .03. Letters .012-.014, retrograde, in field above.



$\chi\iota\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ .

No letter is lost at the beginning, and every letter is clear, but the name seems inexplicable. There seems to be no possibility that we should interpret the first letter as *psi*, as  $\Psi$  in the Laconian alphabet is invariably *chi* down to the end of the 5th century.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the four-stroke *sigma*, with its upper and lower angles rounded, this inscription cannot be later than the 6th century.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

<sup>2</sup>  $\Psi\iota\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ , connected with  $\psi\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$  (=  $\phi\theta\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , Hesych.), cf.  $\psi\iota\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  =  $\phi\theta\iota\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  (*I.G.* xii. 5, 2, 867) (cf. E. Schwyzler, *Glotta*, 1921, p. 79), would be the most likely explanation, but the first letter seems an insuperable objection to this view.

10 (1488). Fragment of a slab, complete above only, with doubtful remains of relief below. .06 x .105. Letters .007.



*Kórpis.*

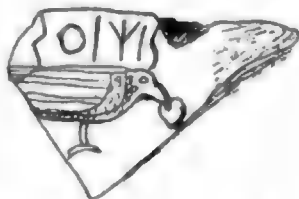
For names of this type see P. Perdrizet's note in *R. Ét. Anc.* xxiii. (1921), pp. 85-94, where he suggests that they are nearly all of Macedonian and Egyptian origin, and are names of slaves or freedmen. Thus the earlier examples are not depreciatory names derived direct from *κόπος*, but from *κοπρία* (in Egypt a municipal sewage deposit), as is shown by the passages in the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (ed. Schubart, Berlin, 1919, pp. 21, 34, 38), notably the provision that no one can be a priest who has been adopted *ἐκ κοπρίας* (where unwanted children were presumably exposed). If this be the explanation here, this must be the earliest example.<sup>1</sup> Cf. the same name (in the genitive, *Κόπριος*) at Melos, *I.G.* xii. 3, 484.

The *omicron* with a dot in the centre, which seems intentional here, occurs in only one other archaic Spartan inscription, the dedication to Apollo Karneios (*I.G.* v. 1, 222), and it was suggested by Mr. Woodward (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 81, note 6) that it was there used to distinguish *ο* from *ω*. Here, however, the need for such distinction does not arise. The *sigma* with seven strokes, which may be compared with that in No. 3 of the present series (which has seven) is of a type hitherto unknown in Laconia. It occurs, however, at Olympia on a Laconian inscription (*Inscr. von Olympia*, 244 = *I.G.A.* 63), attributed to ca. 600 B.C., and twice on the Arkesilas Vase (in *Ἀρκεσίλας* and *[στ]αθμός*), though other words there exhibit forms with five or four strokes. It would be rash to claim it as the earliest form of the letter in the Laconian alphabet, and we may reasonably accept Dittenberger's view that the Olympia example is a modification of the 5-stroke sigma, perhaps based on the arbitrary taste of the engraver ('eine vielleicht auf reiner Willkür des Graveurs beruhende Modification'). Similarly it seems reasonable to expect considerable

<sup>1</sup> It seems safer to us to retain the traditional explanation here, as Perdrizet's contentions do not apply.

individual eccentricities in writing, as also in orthography, in our present informal series of dedications, as is pointed out below, p. 113.

11 (1498). Fragment of a slab, complete above only, with incised representation of an eagle (?) standing to r. with a wreath in its beak. H. .045; l. .06. Letters .012.



Σίχιος, or Σοιχίς, or Σοίξις(?).

The position of the letters and the fact that each *sigma* faces a different way give us no clue to the direction in which the inscription runs. Σίχιος (or Σιχιός as a genitive?) might be equivalent to Θεόχιος (-ίος) (though this substitution is claimed by Thumb<sup>1</sup> and other authorities as characteristic only of the late Laconian dialect), and this in its turn a 'short name' for Θεοχάρης, *vel sim.* Σοιχίς is even more difficult to account for, but might be connected presumably with σῶος (σῶφος = safe), cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.* pp. 413 ff., though this form is not found elsewhere.

[Σοίξις would rest on the rather unlikely, but not impossible, assumption that the symbol ψ stood for ξ as in early inscriptions of Melos (*I.G.* xii. 3, 1149), or Thera (ψ for ξ, *I.G.* xii. 3, 811; xii. 3, *Suppl.* 1324, 1465);<sup>2</sup> this would then be a dedication by a man (or woman?) from one of these islands, and would give us a name more closely analogous to such Spartan names of later date as Σοιξίας (*I.G.* v. 1, 1295, l. 8); Σοιξιάδας (*ibid.* 254, etc.). J.J.E.H.]

12 (1483). Portion of a slab, complete above only, with obscure relief possibly representing a ship with sail set, upside down. H. .10; l. .15. Letters .005-.008.

<sup>1</sup> *Handbuch*, p. 88, § 95, 1. *Mos*, σῶος = θεός, θεών in Alcman and in *Lysistr.* are dismissed as due to 'grammatische Überarbeitung' of the text, but we have 4th-century evidence in *ἀνέστηκε*, *I.G.* v. 1, 255.

<sup>2</sup> And on the Arkesilas vase in the word ΣιλιφύΜΑΨΟΣ (= . . ὀμαξος).





Π·πραξινοϛ [J.J.E.H.].

Πραξινοϛ [A.M.W.].

If the first  $\pi$  is not accidental we have to restore some strange name like [ $\pi$ ]π[ο]πραξινοϛ,<sup>1</sup> but it must be noted that neither author read the letter on the stone, and that there is no letter between it and the certain ς. The squeeze certainly shows marks closely resembling ς, on a slightly smaller scale. On the whole it is wiser to disregard them and read Πραξινοϛ, which seems the certain reading in No. 13.

13 (1484). Fragment of a slab, complete on l., with raised flat band above, the other sides broken. Below the inscription, female head with long hair, incised. H. .15; l. .085. Letters .005.



Π·πραξινοϛ [J.J.E.H.]

Πραξινοϛ [A.M.W.]

<sup>1</sup> For which no nearer analogy seems to exist than Πραξινοϛ. S.G.D.I. 4322, l. 41 (Karpethos).

Presumably Πραξίνος, though Mr. Woodward thought at the time he copied it that the last letter might be the remains of *alpha*. This name occurs at Eretria as Πρηξίνος, *I.G.* xii. 9, 249 A., l. 20.<sup>1</sup> Names similarly compounded occur occasionally in Laconia, cf. Πραξιμένης, *I.G.* v. 1, 96; Πραξίων, *ibid.* 1277, Πραξινίκα (at Messene, *ibid.* 1476), and are not rare elsewhere, cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.* p. 382.

14 (1487). Fragment complete above and on left; the inscription is on a raised flat band above. H. .04; l. .065. Letters .01.

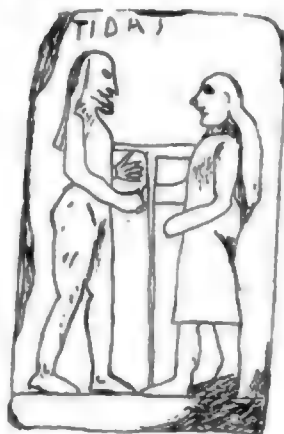


Χάρτυλος.

Before the *alpha* is the lower half of a vertical *hasta*, spaced too close to have been κ or τ; the surface is injured by a small piece having flaked off, and ι, υ, or ψ (= X) seem the most likely alternatives, of which Χάρτυλος alone seems a probable name. We may compare such names as Εὐχαρτος, Χαρτάδας, Χαρτίας, etc., Bechtel, *op. cit.* pp. 464 ff. The space is too cramped for Γ, and, though there is room, no letter seems to have preceded it, to justify our suggesting [Ἐπ]άρτυλος (cf. Ἀρτύλας, Paus. viii. 27, 11), or [Σπ]άρτυλος, which, though unknown names, are not impossible.

15 (1482). Small slab, complete except for slight damage on left, with scene in low relief, representing nude man with beard clasping r. hand of woman clad in plain Doric chiton reaching to the knees. The hair of the man reaches to his shoulders, that of the woman to her waist. Between them is an object like a rake, standing upright on its handle. Suspension hole in upper r. corner. H. .15; l. .10. Letters .005.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Πραξίνος], lacking the last two letters, on a clay *tessera* from Mantinea, *I.G.* v. 2, 323, No. 84, and Πραξίνοος, *ibid.*, No. 17.



'Av ?]τίδας.

Apparently two letters at most are lost. This name seems a possible formation from ἀντι- (cf. 'Αντίας, 'Αντίλος, 'Αντίων, etc., Bechtel, *op. cit.* p. 58 ff), whether or no we regard it as a 'short name'; if so, we may connect it with 'Αντιδάμας (Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 387, l. 15). [Βυ]τίδας is also possible, on the analogy of Βύτις.<sup>1</sup> A similar representation may have formed the subject of the fragmentary and unfinished ivory plaque, *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 99, Fig. 30a.

16 (1500). Small fragment from a slab, broken on all sides. H. .02; l. .035. Letters .01.



διδυ[ς ?].

Quite uncertain. The third letter might possibly be *rho*, and the last is a doubtful *sigma*.

17 (1485). Similar fragment, broken on all sides. H. .04; l. .055. Letters .015-.02 (that before E is *ca.* .03).



-- ρσιε --

-- ρ --

<sup>1</sup> A Laconian name found at Delphi (first letter restored): cf. *B.C.H.* xxvii. (1903), p. 34, col. ii, B, l. 8 = Poralla, *op. cit.* No. 178.

The elongated form of *iota* in l. 1, if intended for that letter at all, seems due to a slip of the engraver's tool. If, however, it is accidental, we may have the remains of -- ρς ε[ποίη]. Otherwise no restoration seems plausible.

18 (1486). Similar fragment. H. .025; l. .06. Letters .015.



-- ια(?)

Nothing seems lost after the letter A, if the last symbol be rightly read so. Possibly the end of a dedication to Orthia in the dative, lacking the final *iota*, as on Nos. 3, 4 (?), 25, 27 (?).

19. Similar fragment. H. .10; l. .09. Letters ca. .012.



-- ξαπ(?) or ιπαξ -- (?)

-- αρ --

The surface is covered with scratched lines, among which the letters given can be distinguished with some difficulty. No sense can be made of them.

20. Relief, broken below, intended to represent the façade of a di-style temple (?). H. .145; l. .275; th. .075. Letters ca. .02 inscribed in the pediment.

1B

α(?)β.

Apparently complete.

21. Fragment of a slab, complete on r. only, on which is a relief representing the lower part of a draped female figure, standing to l. H. .08; l. .085. Letters .01, carved on the r. edge of the slab.

104

-- υδι.

Probably several letters are lost before the *upsilon*, apparently none after the *iota*.

22. Small statuette of similar material, representing a priestess (?).  
H. .055. Letters small and hard to decipher.

ΑΔΤΑΩ~

(a) on the breast, Ἀρτεμ—

ΕΝΑΡΙ

(b) on the back, ἐπαριετ.

Not intelligible, and the letters on the back are very hard to distinguish from the shallow scratches indicating the drapery. If correctly read, the form Δ for Π on one side contrasts strangely with Π on the other.

J. J. E. H.

A. M. W.

*B. On Bronze Objects.*

23. Bronze die with six sides. L. .095; diam. .018. Letters .005, diminishing in height to .002, inscribed retrograde on the face with one 'spot.' *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 115, Fig. 5d, 116; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, i. (1909), p. 353; *I.G.* v. 1, 252a.

Τὰι Φροβαίαι.

24. Similar die, found in 1908 towards the east of the site. L. .11; diam. ca. .045. Letters .004.

ΕΛΕΥ

Ἐλευ.

Complete, but clearly abbreviated for Ἐλευσίαι or Ἐλευσίας (unless the fifth letter should be restored as *theta*). This confirms the view, based on the discovery of stamped tiles and of terra-cotta figurines representing scenes of child-birth, that the sanctuary of Eileithyia was adjacent to, if not actually shared in partnership with, that of Orthia; cf. *B.S.A.* xv. p. 21 f. Though the level at which it was found was clearly disturbed, this die may be as much as half a century later than No. 23. Except the dedication of κύβοι by Palamedes at Corinth (Pausanias, ii. 20, 3), no examples seem recorded in literature of the

dedication of dice in sanctuaries,<sup>1</sup> nor is their appropriateness obvious as an offering to Orthia or Eileithyia.

*C. On Ivory Objects.*

25. Relief representing a warship. Letters .004, retrograde. *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 100 ff., and Pl. IV.; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, i. (1909), p. 352; *I.G.* v. 1, 252b.

*For(θ)αία.*

The letter ⊙ (*phi*) is used in error for ⊕ (*theta*), and a probably accidental stroke above the *ι* gives it the appearance of τ. The omission of the final *ι* of the dative may be intentional, and should in that case be compared with the instances in Nos. 3, 4 (?), and 18 (?) above, though in No. 3 τᾶ may be an error of omission for τᾶι.

26 (1501). Fragment of an ivory flute with one orifice preserved. L. .063; diam. .015. Letters .01.

ΟΑΧΡΑΔΑΙΟΣ

Ἀχραδαῖος (or Ἀχράδατος?)

In spite of our expectations to the contrary, the second letter can only be χ, though we must regard it as a fault of orthography. According as we regard the cross-stroke in the seventh letter as accidental (as on No. 25) or as deliberate we have a choice of reading one of the two alternatives given above for this name, which would seem in any case to be derived from ἀχράς (= a wild pear-tree). Ἀχλαδαῖος, *Paus.* iv. 19, 2, is clearly the same name as the former alternative, based on the later form ἀχλάς,<sup>2</sup> and this ending seems more natural than one in -ατος.<sup>3</sup>

Names derived from those of trees are not uncommon, though Laconia does not furnish many examples. We may compare Ἀμπελίδας (*Thuc.* v. 22, = *Poralla, Prosop. der Lak.* 74), Πεύας (*Xen. Hell.* i. 6, 1; ii. 3, 10, = *Poralla, op. cit.* 610), Ἐλατος the traditional first Ephor

<sup>1</sup> Nor is any other instance recorded by Rouse in his *Greek Votive Offerings*. Do our examples indicate gratitude or conversion?

<sup>2</sup> Whence *Mod. Gr.* ἀχλάδι (= pear).

<sup>3</sup> The latter alternative seems almost impossible (unless it were a genitive?), as it would involve the unattractive assumption of assimilation with preceding *alphas*, for Ἀχράδατος, or an unique variant of the termination in -δας (= -δτης).

(Plut. *Lyc.* 7, = Poralla, *op. cit.* 260, if derived from ἐλάτῃ?), and more than one bearer of the name Ἀκανθος (Poralla, *op. cit.* Nos. 46, 47). In general, cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.* pp. 592 ff.

27 (1502). Fragment of an ivory flute, broken at both ends, with two orifices. L. .082; diam. .011. Letters .008.



ταῖς Φορθά, or Φορθα[ίαι](?).

It is not certain, owing to the fracture, if any letters are lost at the end. *Φορθά* is not found elsewhere among our dedications, and if correct would afford some confirmation of the view of Pausanias that the title Ὀρθία = ὀρθή.<sup>1</sup> The dative without final *iota* has already been noticed (Nos. 3, 4(?), 18(?), 25).

This seems by its smaller diameter to be from a different flute from No. 26. For their discovery see *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 25.

J. J. E. H.

A. M. W.

*D. On Pottery.* (Figs. 1, 2, show Nos. 28–65.)

The great majority of these inscriptions from the sanctuary of Orthia are unpublished; in fact none have hitherto been reproduced in facsimile, except two fragments ascribed to the period 'Laconian VI,' which appear in *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 11, Fig. 4. References are made to the chronological evidence furnished by others, *op. cit.* p. 10 ff.; xvi. p. 28. With unimportant exceptions, the votive dedications of these sherds at the Orthia site were inscribed in paint during the period down to ca. 400 B.C., but an interesting group of black-glazed bowls, etc., of the Hellenistic period bears incised inscriptions (Nos. 59, 60, Fig. 1, 61–65, Fig. 2). They are arranged in approximate chronological order, based on the recorded levels at which they were found.<sup>2</sup>

28. Fragmentary platter with beaded edge; the inside is painted black with a small purple centre. Diam. .24. Letters .01–.012 high, carefully written in dark paint. Two suspension-holes are pierced in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bosanquet, *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 332 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 115 below, where indications of disturbed stratification are adduced.



FIG. 1.—INSCRIBED VASE FRAGMENTS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA,  
Nos. 28-60. (Scale ca 1:1½.)



the platter. Cf. *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 28 for circumstances of discovery; *I.G.* v. 1, 1588.<sup>1</sup>

- - ἀνέθε]κε τῇ Φορθασίαι.

We have no other example of this spelling of the name, but may compare *Φορθασία* on No. 4 above. This platter can hardly be later than 600 B.C., on the evidence of its level in the deposit and its associated finds, and Mr. Droop assigned it to the period 'Laconian II.'<sup>2</sup>

29. Small fragment with black glaze, from the interior of a cup. .04 × .036. Letters *ca.* .008, probably incomplete on l., incised.

- - θος.

Possibly [Τροϋ]θος, as on No. 7, with which it might be contemporary.

30. Platter resembling No. 28, but with white beaded edge, put together out of some twenty fragments; some portions, including part of the inscription in l. 2, are lacking. Diam. .25. Letters *ca.* .005 high, neatly written in white paint. Cf. *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 28; *I.G.* v. 1, 1587.<sup>3</sup>

Φριθία | ἀ[νέ]θηκε | ἡρόν.

*Φριθία*, presumably the dedicatrix's name, seems almost inexplicable, and its obscurity may be due, as is presumably the spelling of ἀ[νέ]θηκε and of ἡρόν = *ἡρόν*, to illiteracy. Or may we regard it as = *Βριθία*, and compare *Βριθῶ* (from *βριθὺς*) in a later inscription from Thera (*Ath. Mitt.* ii. (1877), p. 71, No. 8, = *I.G.* xii. 3, 493)? The *iota* in ἀνέθηκε must surely be due to wrong orthography, as nothing like it can be found in any Doric dialect, and the omission of *a* after the *iota* in ἡρόν must be attributed to the same cause.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the doubts of the Editor of the *Corpus*, and the rather developed type of the letters, this must belong to the early 6th century.

31. Small fragment, .035 × .045. Pink paint on black glaze.

Φο[ρθείας, *vel sim.*].

<sup>1</sup> In *Addenda Ultima*, p. xxv. The digamma is omitted in error there.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 34; cf. xvi. p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1. 'VI. Sacc. tribuebat editor, quem sequi dubito.'—Kolbe, *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> *ῥος* = *ῥος* is characteristic of Lesbos, and common in the Ionic dialect, but there is no possibility of thus accounting for our present form. The *Θ* is an insuperable objection. Presumably the word should have been written *ἡρόν*, not *ἡρόν*.

32. Fragment of shallow cup with two handles. H. .04. Letters .017, below the rim, in pink paint.

*Φορθ[είαι, vel sim.].*

33. Small fragment. H. .05.

-- o -- .

34. Three fragments probably from the same vase, each *ca.* .05 high. (a) shows remains of an inscription in two lines. The letters seem to have been larger in the lower line. Sense irrecoverable.

(a) -- o - | - ι -- . (b) -- o -- . (c) -- ι -- .

35. Fragment of a cup of black-glazed ware. H. .05. Letters .013, in pink paint.

-- ἀνέτ[εκε -- ?].

This is quite abnormal, though we may note τ for θ after *sigma* in the infinitive ἀποστρυθῆσται in the archaic inscription from Gythion, *I.G.* v. 1, 1155, l. 2.<sup>1</sup>

36. Fragment of a large vase of black-glazed ware. H. .06. Letters probably *ca.* .04 high, in pink paint.

*Φο[ρθείαι, vel sim.].*

37. Fragment similar to No. 32, but no trace of handles. H. .02; l. .038. Letters *ca.* .02, in pink paint.

*Φο[ρθείαι, vel sim.].*

38. Fragment from rim of similar cup. H. .035. Letters .008, in pink paint.

-- ος Φο[ρθείαι, vel sim.].

39. Similar fragment. H. .025. Letters .012, in pink paint.

*Φορ]θί[αι (?).*

If correctly restored, the ι for ει is unusual in this name.

40. Two fragments, which do not join, with remains of rim above. H. (a) .032, (b) .04. Letters *ca.* .03, in buff.

*Φορ[θείαι, vel sim.].*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thumb, *op. cit.* p. 88.

41. Small fragment, broken on all sides. .02 × .03. Letter incised.

*F* or *E* (?).

42. Similar fragment, .03 × .045. Letters, incised, were probably over .04 high.

-- ρι - -. Quite uncertain.

43. Fragment of similar style to Nos. 32 and 37. H. .025; l. .028. Letters *ca.* .015, in pink paint.

*F]op[θείαι, vel sim.]*.

44. Fragment of similar cup to No. 32, of dark-brown glaze, with remains of one handle.

*F[opθείαι, vel sim.]*.

45. Small fragment of similar style. H. .028; l. .048. Letters .018, in white paint.

*Fop]θε[ίαι, vel. sim., or possibly ἀνέ]θε[κε F., etc.*

46. Small fragment of similar style. H. .02; l. .03. Remains of rim above.

*F]op[θείαι, vel sim.]*.

47. Similar fragment with rim. H. .02; l. .02. Letters *ca.* .005 in pink paint.

-- ἀνέθεκ]ε τᾶ[ι Fopθείαι, vel sim.]

48. Small fragment broken on all sides. H. .02; l. .028. Letters .01, in white paint.

-- ἀνέθε]κε τ[ᾶι Fopθείαι, vel sim.]

49. Fragment from a larger vase, broken on all sides. Remains of large letter, *ca.* .035 high.

*F* (?).

50. Fragment, with rim, similar to Nos. 32, 37, 43, etc. H. .025; l. .05. Letters .02, in pink paint.

*Fopθ[είαι, vel sim.]*.

51. Fragment broken on all sides, with dark-brown glaze. H. .05; l. .065. Letters *ca.* .01, in pink paint, rather careless.

-- ἀνέθε]κε -- .

52. Two small fragments, which do not join, of a cup similar to No. 50, etc. H. (a) .03, (b) .015. Letter on (a) .022, in white paint.

(a) *F[ορθείαις?]*; (b) *ε* . . Very uncertain.

53. Fragment of similar style, possibly from the same cup. H. .02; l. .05.

*Fορ]θε[ίαι(?)]*; or *ἀν[ε]θε[κε(?)]*.

54. Similar fragment. H. .027; l. .03. Letters .018, in white paint.

*Fορθ]ε[ίαι(?)]*.

55. Tiny fragment, broken on all sides. H. .017; l. .017. Letters *ca.* .008.

*Fορ]θεία[ι, vel sim.]*.

56. Fragment from rim of a cup, unpainted outside, black-glazed inside. H. .03; l. .03. Letters *ca.* .01, incised.

*Fο[ρθείαι, vel sim.]*.

57. Fragment broken on all sides. H. .03; l. .05. Letters *ca.* .011, carelessly incised.

*ἀν[έθεκε(?)]*.

58 (a, b, c). (a) Stem and portion of centre of a small black-glazed *kylix*. Inscribed surface measures .03 × .04. Letters .01.

*τρα*. No letters are lost.

(b, c) Two other small fragments found at the same level and similarly inscribed. Possibly an abbreviation for some name beginning *Τρα*.<sup>1</sup>

59. Fragment of the rim of a black-glazed bowl of Hellenistic style put together from two pieces found at different levels in the same region of the sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> Letters .006, incised.

-- *κλήια* 'Ε[λευσίαι(?)]

Apparently the same name is preserved on No. 60.

<sup>1</sup> The only one known at Sparta would appear to be *Τράχαλος* (cf. Poralla, *op. cit.* No. 707), who served at Delphi as *ναυπηγός* in the 4th century.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 115.

60. Rim-fragment of a similar bowl, original diam. *ca.* .20. Letters .007, incised.

- - *αυκληία* - - .

There is a trace of a letter, suggesting *κ*, *σ*, or *χ*, before the *alpha*, but it does not lead to a recognisable name.<sup>1</sup>

These two bowls seem contemporary both in fabric and inscription with Nos. 61-66, dedicated by *Χιλωνίς*. To account for the *ε* at the end of No. 59 'Ε[*λευσίαι*] seems possible, in spite of the omission of the article. Other indications of the worship of Eileithyia in close proximity to the sanctuary of Orthia have been noted above (No. 24).

61. Part of a small black-glazed bowl, with 'engine-turned' pattern in centre, and flat rim with beading on inner and outer edges. Diam. .12. Letters *ca.* .005, incised neatly and regularly on the rim. Cf. *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 39, and note 1.

[X]ιλωνίς τᾷ Βωρθείαι.

62. Four adjoining fragments, forming half the rim of a bowl exactly as the last.

[Χιλω]νίς τᾷ Βωρθείαι.

63. Part of a shallow black-glazed platter with upturned lip; in the centre an ornament of nine radial palmettes in low relief, round which is a wide band of 'engine-turned' pattern. Diam. *ca.* .24. Letters *ca.* .005, incised on interior close to the lip.

Χιλωνίς τᾷ Β[ωρθείαι].

64. Small fragment of bowl similar to Nos. 59-60, to the latter of which it might possibly belong. Letters *ca.* .006, incised.

- - τᾷ Βω[ρθείαι].

65. Small fragment from the rim of a bowl similar to Nos. 61, 62, but without beading and with a convex surface. Letters *ca.* .005, incised.

[Χι]λωνίς [τᾷ Βωρθείαι].

This group of Hellenistic ware (Nos. 59-65) is clearly the latest of

<sup>1</sup> The simplest explanation seems to be the omission of an inter-vocalic *sigma* between *α* and *ν*, giving us some name such as *Θραυκληία* [= *Θρασυκληία*], but the first letter visible on the sherd did not seem like *π*.



FIG. 2.—HELLENISTIC BOWLS WITH INCISED DEDICATIONS TO ORTHIA,  
Nos. 61-65. (Scale 1 : 2.)

our series, and was found in the same region of the site, though slightly scattered, and not all at precisely the same level. The dedicatrix's name in Nos. 61, 62 and 65 is a safe restoration from No. 63, and it seems only to have been borne by members of one or other royal line, excepting the daughter of Chilon the Sage. It is not impossible that we should therefore ascribe these dedications to one of the royal bearers of the name in Hellenistic times, of which there seem to have been three, namely the daughter of Cleomenes II, the daughter of Leotychidas and wife of Kleonymus, and the daughter of Leonidas II, grand-daughter of the last-named.<sup>1</sup>

A. M. W.

*The Date of the Votive Inscriptions from the Orthia Sanctuary.*

These objects cover a long period, as the earliest must date from *ca.* 600 B.C. and the latest come down to the 3rd century. Within these limits a certain amount of guidance may be obtained from the evidence—firstly of the level at which each was found, as far as this could be recorded, and secondly of the development of the letter-forms represented. We must, however, remember that each of these classes of evidence is liable to need modifying. Stratification, in the first place, is not an absolute guide to the date of the dedication of any given object in a sanctuary, as some votives would be cleared out after a shorter exhibition in the temple than others, either as a result of breakage, or merely of the desire to make room for fresh objects, at the expense of the earlier ones. Further, it only represents the relative date for the accumulation of debris, after removal from the temple, with any accuracy on an undisturbed site, that is to say where the ground has not been turned over subsequently, whether by the digging of trenches for later wall-foundations, or in drainage operations, or by the efforts of those searching for 'treasure,' or merely for building material, in ancient and modern times alike. As an instance of the fallibility of such evidence, we may note that the bronze die, No. 24, which by its lettering can hardly be later, and might be earlier, than 500 B.C., was found associated with inscribed sherds which both by their form and their inscriptions suggest a date at least a century later.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the genealogical tables at the end of Poralla, *Prosopographia der Lakedaemonier*. The earlier bearers of the name (Poralla, Nos. 763, 764) are of course too early for this connexion. Pauly-Wissowa (Niese, s.v. Chilonis) distinguish only two in Hellenistic times, omitting the daughter of Cleomenes II. This suggestion is due to Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

In considering the evidence of the letter-forms, it must be borne in mind that the large majority of these dedications are fragmentary, and give us only a small range of letters; and, moreover, that many of the dedicatory inscriptions, especially on the limestone carvings, are the work of votaries to whom writing was clearly an effort. Consequently we must not expect in them the observance of the more rigid canons in regard to spelling or letter-forms, which prevail in formal documents of a later date. It is typical of such individual taste that on No. 3 we have a seven-stroke *sigma*, and on No. 11, found in the same section but at a higher level, one with three strokes, and that Nos. 5 and 12, found in adjoining sections at the same level, read from left to right and from right to left respectively. In considering the chronology of the inscribed pottery-fragments, ceramic styles and stratified levels must be taken into account as well as the lettering, and here again the small size of most of the sherds results in mutilated inscriptions, and sometimes in uncertainty as to the shape and date of the original vase, as a check on the evidence from the level alone.

The inscribed carvings in soft limestone represent only a small proportion of the total number of these objects found during the excavations, and any attempt at a stylistic discussion would have to take the whole of them into account. It is pointed out by Mr. Dawkins in his summary of the history of the sanctuary that these carvings occurred 'some . . . just below, some in, and a few above the sand,'<sup>1</sup> of which a thick layer was laid down gradually over a large portion of the *temenos* beginning about the year 600 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Many of them must therefore be assigned to the 7th century, and among them perhaps some of our inscribed pieces. Unfortunately several of these were found built into the foundations of the masonry of the Roman theatre (on the north side, *i. e.* north-east of the temple), and thus give no exact evidence of their original stratification, though we are perhaps justified in assuming that they were found in digging the trenches for this building, and that therefore their original level in the deposit was not deeper than the level reached in this process, which stopped short of the bottom of the layer of sand. This is the case with Nos. 4, 8, and 9, and No. 21 was found lying below the foundations

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* xiv. p. 26 f.; xvi. pp. 28 ff. (correcting the originally estimated date of 550 B.C. as in xiii. p. 61).



and may be regarded as earlier than the other three. Nos. 1 and 2, which were found in 1906, in the first year's work, cannot be allotted to a definite level, but cannot differ much in date from Nos. 3 and 4, which like them represent horses in low relief. No note is available at the moment of writing of the find-spots of Nos. 6, 18 and 19, which leaves us with eight inscribed fragments of which the exact level in the deposit is recorded. These levels are as follows<sup>1</sup>:

- § 77 : 194·94-195·16 m. . . . . No. 10.
- § 110 : 194·95-195·19 m. . . . . Nos. 5, 12, 20.
- ditto* : 195·21-46 m. . . . . No. 17.
- § 111 : 194·91-195·11 m. . . . . No. 11.
- ditto* : 195·11-26 m. . . . . Nos. 3, 13.

Thus Nos. 5, 10, 11, 12, 20 come from almost exactly the same level, Nos. 3 and 13 from that immediately above it, and No. 17 from that still higher. That this difference must not be pressed is shown by the fact that Nos. 12 and 13 contain the same name and presumably represent offerings by the same dedicator. We may accordingly conclude that there is little or no interval in time between the objects in the two lower levels here distinguished, though No. 3, by virtue of its careful workmanship and regular lettering may be the latest of them. On the other hand, No. 17, from the highest of these three levels, is probably the latest of this group, though too small and broken to furnish any information except by its level. The stratified examples would seem to form the earliest group of these carvings, and it is tempting to associate Nos. 1 and 2 with them, and to date them not later than 600, and the deepest among them perhaps 20 or 30 years before that year. The remainder, none of which can have been from below the sand or at a corresponding level outside it, would belong to the first quarter of the following century.

With regard to the relative dating of the stone carvings and the pottery, we must note that the earliest of the latter, No. 28, comes from the same level, but not the same region of the site, as Nos. 3 and 13 of the former, and that Nos. 29 and 30 were found at a deeper level than carving No. 17. With these exceptions, the inscribed sherds are all from higher levels than the carvings attributed to the end of the 7th century;

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of the sections refer to those into which the area was divided for record purposes during the excavations, cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 71; xiv. p. 14.

in fact, if we put Nos. 29 and 30 also before 600 B.C., the small fragment, No. 31, found in the eastern area of the site (beyond the edge of the sand), is the sole representative of its class which we may confidently attribute to the 6th century. To the same era belong both the bronze dice and probably the two ivory flutes (Nos. 23, 24, 26, 27), though the latter can be very little later than 600 B.C. To the 5th century we must assign the sadly fragmentary sherds numbered 32-58, which are arranged on Fig. 1 according to the levels at which they were found, though, as many of them came from the houses to the east of the *temenos* proper,<sup>1</sup> we must allow for the fact that the stratification had been disturbed in the process of rebuilding.<sup>2</sup> Thus Nos. 45, 48, and 51, which all exhibit the *epsilon* with its vertical stroke prolonged below the bottom cross-stroke, may really be contemporary with No. 35, which has the same form. Again, the *nu* on No. 57 and the *digamma* with slanting cross-strokes on No. 52, suggest an even earlier date than the corresponding letters on Nos. 35 and 32 respectively. Probably no importance need be attached to the varied positions of the cross-strokes of the *thetas*, but the three-stroke *sigma* on No. 38 has a genuinely early look, though we have no other example of presumably 5th-century date with which to compare it. It is generally believed that, in formal inscriptions at any rate, this form is definitely earlier than the four-stroke form.<sup>3</sup> From the evidence of associated finds this group (Nos. 32-58) is to be assigned in the main to the latest phase of the Laconian pottery styles, dated by Mr. Droop to the period *ca.* 425-350,<sup>4</sup> though, owing to some disturbance of the strata, there would seem to be some admixture of Laconian V. sherds among them. We need not be surprised at the *digamma* surviving after 400 B.C., but the earlier form of *sigma* on No. 38 suggests the early 5th century for this fragment, at any rate.

Clearly a considerable interval is to be allowed for between this group of sherds with painted inscriptions and the series of black-glazed Hellenistic bowls with the incised dedications of Chilonis and -aucleia. Yet the confusion of the strata produced Nos. 50 and 63 at the same level, and caused the two adjoining pieces of No. 59 to be separated by a vertical

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 7 ff.; xvi. p. 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* xiv. p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. S. Roberts, *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, i. p. 269. We have instances of a rough four-stroke *sigma* on Nos. 6 and 9 above.

<sup>4</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 43 f.

interval of at least 18 cm., one moreover being found outside and the other inside a house. Here, however, both the type of the pottery, which is obviously an imported fabric, and the lettering are a safe guide to the date, which is quite compatible with the dedicatrix Chilonis being one of the ladies of the royal line, who belonged to the 3rd century B.C.

A. M. W.

*The Title of the Goddess as illustrated in these Inscriptions.*

Although the damaged condition of many of these votive objects deprives us of much valuable material for the study of this question, the evidence which is complete enough to be utilised enables certain conclusions to be stated. The carvings and other objects which must be dated not later than 600 B.C., namely, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 25, and 28, give us the following forms :—

No.

1 : *Fopθa[ía]*.

2 : *Fo[ρθ]εí[a]*.

3 : *Fo(ρ)θεία.*

4 : *Fροθασία.*

25 : *Fop(θ)αία.*

28 : *Fopθασία.*

Those probably attributable to the (early) 6th century give us :—

No.

23 : *Fροθαία.*

27 : *Fopθαά* (or *Fopθα[ía]*?).

Those probably attributable to the 5th and early 4th centuries (omitting those which go no further than *Fopθ-*) give us :—

No.

39 : *[Fop]θί[a](?)*.

54 : *[Fopθ]εí[a]*.

55 : *[Fop]θεία.*

Those belonging to the 3rd century (all dedicated by the same person) give us in Nos. 61–64 consistently the form *Βωρθεία*.

We are justified in concluding from this evidence that in the 7th and 6th centuries great latitude existed, according to individual taste,

just as might have been expected from the varying fashions of letter-forms. It was, however, clearly understood that the name began with *digamma*, and four of the six earliest objects exhibit *alpha*, and two *epsilon*, in the second syllable; two of the former terminating the name in *-αία* and two in *-αία*. The inference seems to be reasonable that there was a firm impression that the name was *Φορβασία*,<sup>1</sup> and that the inter-vocalic *sigma* was scarcely sounded. In these circumstances it is odd that in no instance preserved to us was it replaced by an aspirate, as in the Damonon inscription, for example. Now, *Φορβασία* is precisely the form in which this title of Artemis appears in an Arcadian inscription (*I.G.* v. 2, 429) from Kotilion (near Phigaleia), which cannot be earlier than the 4th century. So we are perhaps entitled to suggest that the form *Φορβεία* as restored in No. 2 and *Φο(ρ)θεία* in No. 3 are errors of spelling. Yet in the 5th-century examples we have *Φορβεία* once (No. 55), possibly also in No. 54, and apparently *Φορβία* in No. 39. In fact, the S-sound has disappeared, and for the diphthong *-αι-* has been substituted *-ει-*. When we reach the 3rd century this is, so to speak, standardised, and the initial *digamma* becomes *beta*, and the *omicron*, *omega*.<sup>2</sup> The subsequent varieties of the name to be studied in the inscribed tiles and the votive stelai from the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* illustrate first the growth of the influence of the *κοινή*, and then that of the archaistic revival in the 2nd century of our era, but as all the material is already published it is not necessary to treat of these further stages of the enquiry here.

A. M. W.

## II.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ATHENA

### CHALKIOIKOS (Nos. 66–103).

#### A. On Bronze Objects.

66 (2016).<sup>3</sup> On a bronze bell, found in 1907. H. .063; diam. .04. Letters .005.

<sup>1</sup> *Φορβασία* as a variant need not surprise us, though such metathesis is abnormal in the early Laconian dialect: cf., however, *Σιφόμενος* = 'the mixer of Silphium' on the Arkesilas vase; the converse is the more frequent usage, especially in Crete.

<sup>2</sup> In *I.G.* v. i. 255, we have, in the 4th century, *Φορβεία*, illustrating the change of *ο* to *ω* before that of *φ* to *β*.

<sup>3</sup> Excavation inventory number.



The small and rather faintly incised letters are difficult to decipher, and unintelligible as they stand. Though both copies agree as to the third letter being M and not Θ, the nearest way to obtain any sort of sense would be to read Τά(θ)αν(ά)αι ἐνάθκ·ε, and regard the latter word as a blundered form of ἀνέθ(ε)κε. This perhaps verges on the reckless!

J. J. E. H.

A. M. W.

*B. On Pottery.* (Fig. 3 shows Nos. 73-98.)

70. On a Panathenaic Amphora put together out of numerous fragments. Incised in letters *ca.* .015 high on the body of the vase below the painted scenes. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 151, and Pl. V. Not in *I.G.* v. 1.

- - - τ . . . Τάθαναί[αι].

Probably before 500 (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 152), in view of the style of the vase.

71. On a fragment of a similar vase, *ibid.* *Op. cit.* p. 152.

A

72. On a similar fragment, *ibid.* *Op. cit.* p. 153.

AI 'Αθαναί[αι](?)

73. On a black-glazed bowl (?) with out-turned rim. H. .05; l. .072. Letters .008, roughly scratched, running from r. to l.

- - δαι ἀνέθε[κε].

Apparently not 'Αθαναί[αι], as the first letter preserved looks like D. The places where the engraver's tool has slipped are clearly visible. Probably 6th century.

74. Five adjoining fragments of a black-glazed platter with upturned rim. Diameter *ca.* .30. Letters .01.

- - ἀνέθεκ]ε Τάθαναίαι.

Perhaps early 5th century.

75. Small fragment of a similar platter. .05 × .055. Letters .01.

- - ἀν]έθε[κε - -

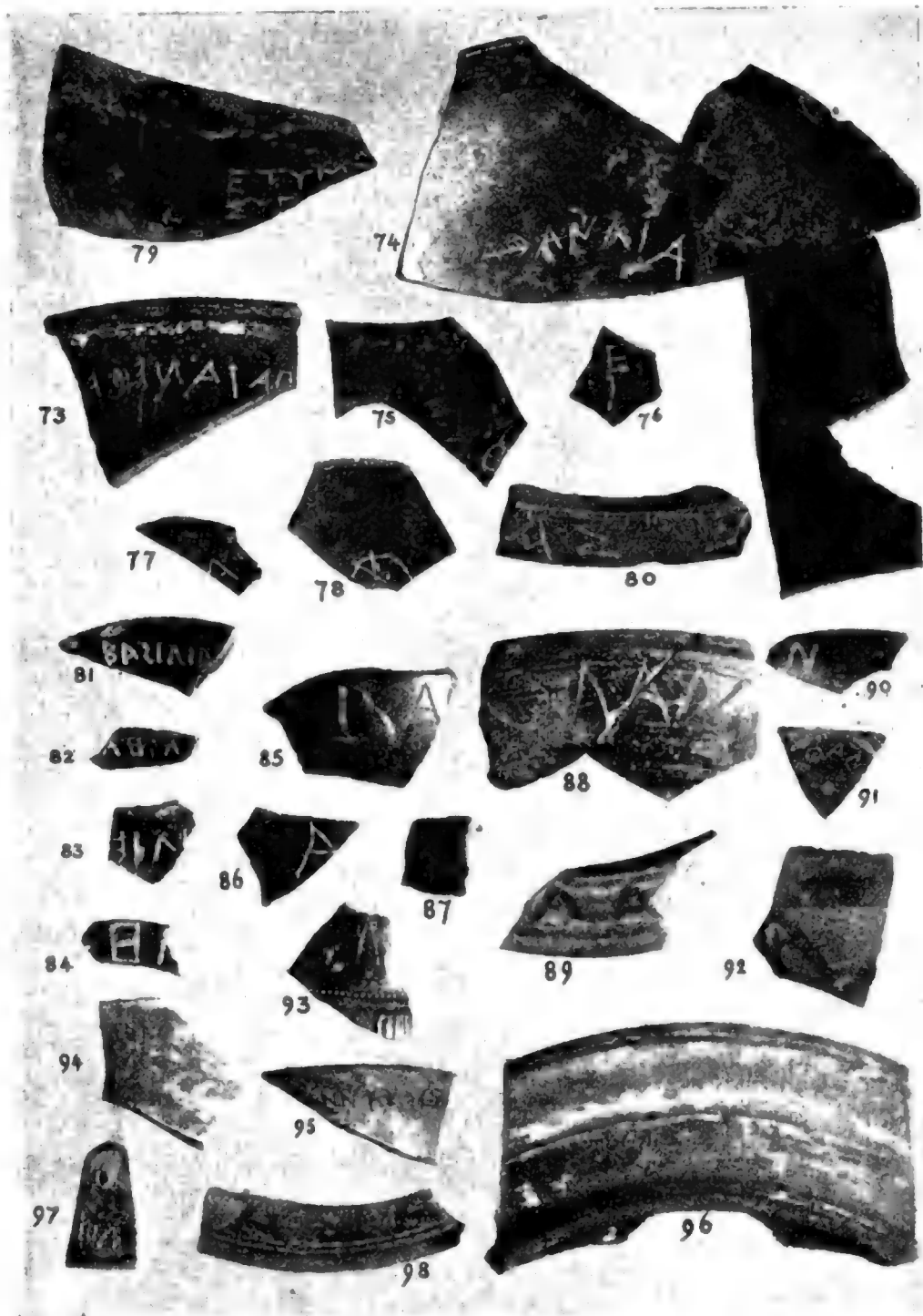


FIG. 3.—INSCRIBED VASE FRAGMENTS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ATHENA CHALKIOIKOS,  
Nos. 73–98. (Scale 1 : 2.)

76. Tiny fragment of a similar platter.  $\cdot 03 \times \cdot 027$ . Letters  $\cdot 009$ .

· ε · .

Quite uncertain except ε, in which the vertical stroke is accidentally prolonged by the tool slipping; the resemblance of the last letter to the lower part of χ may be due to the same cause only.

77. Similar fragment. Letters *ca.*  $\cdot 007$ .

αι, or αη. May belong to No. 75, but does not join.

78. Small fragment of a similar, but rather thicker, platter.  $\cdot 035 \times \cdot 046$ . Letters larger (*ca.*  $\cdot 02$ ).

-- θ --

79. Fragment of a black-glazed vase of uncertain shape. H.  $\cdot 05$ ; l.  $\cdot 096$ . Letters  $\cdot 006$ .

Ἑτυμ --

Συγ --

Presumably a proper name formed from the root Ἑτυμος, *e. g.* Ἑτυμ[οκλής],<sup>1</sup> followed perhaps by [κατὰ] συγ[γραφάν],<sup>2</sup> or [ὁ] συγ[γραφεύς] *vel sim.*, as Συγ- seems an unlikely beginning for a second name, and cannot be an ethnic. Date, perhaps 4th or 3rd century.

80. Fragment from the beaded rim of a platter.  $\cdot 02 \times \cdot 07$ . Letters  $\cdot 018$ .

-- ας. Possibly Ἀθαναί]ας, or the end of the donor's name. Hellenistic (?).

81. Small rim-fragment of a black-glazed vase of doubtful shape.  $\cdot 02 \times \cdot 05$ . Letters  $\cdot 004$ .

Βασιλίδ[ας(?)] --

The name occurs once at Sparta, in the reign of Trajan, *I.G.* v. 1, 137, l. 20; for other names compounded from the root βασιλεύς cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.* p. 92. The date of this sherd is perhaps before 500, to judge by the three-stroke sigma; the last letter is D, not Δ, though the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the envoy of this name sent to Athens in 378 and 370, Xen. *Hell.* v. 4, 22; vi. 5, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 4, l. 17; 5, l. 17.



curve is not clear in the photograph. Nos. 82-84 perhaps contain the same name, spelt with  $\alpha$  for  $\lambda$ .

82. Tiny fragment from similar rim, broken through.  $\cdot 01 \times \cdot 03$ . Letters  $\cdot 004$ .

B]αηλ[ίδας(?) - - .

83. Tiny fragment from the shoulder of a black-glazed cup.  $\cdot 023 \times \cdot 023$ . Letters  $\cdot 006$ .

Ba]ηλ[ίδας(?) - - .

84. Tiny fragment from rim, as Nos. 81 and 82.  $\cdot 013 \times \cdot 03$ . Letters  $\cdot 013$ , in white paint.

(?)Ba]ηλ[ίδας(?) - -

Faint traces of a letter on the extreme left do not look like those of *alpha*, unless we suppose the cross-stroke to have been continued accidentally beyond the right leg of the letter.

For the inter-vocalic *h* for *σ* in the early Laconian dialect, cf. the Damonon inscription (*I.G. v. 1*, 213), *passim*; Thumb, *Handbuch*, p. 86 f., § 92, 6. It is not impossible that all these vases (Nos. 81-84) were dedicated by the same person, and cf. No. 99.

85. Small fragment of a black-glazed cup of doubtful shape, with handle broken off short.  $\cdot 032 \times \cdot 05$ . Letters  $\cdot 011$ .

Α1///. Second letter incomplete (?).

86. Small fragment from the side of a similar cup (?).  $\cdot 03 \times \cdot 036$ . Letters  $\cdot 015$ .

Α - - . Complete on left.

87. Tiny fragment from a black-glazed ribbon-handle.  $\cdot 02 \times \cdot 02$ . Letters  $\cdot 015$ .

Φ - - . Perhaps other letters written *κιονηδόν* below.

88. Two adjoining fragments from the rim of a black-glazed bowl.  $\cdot 05 \times \cdot 085$ . Letters  $\cdot 018$ ; surface damaged.

- - ολαν - - . Probably letters lost at each end. The early form of the *ν* suggests the 5th century as the probable date.

89. Fragment from the flat rim of a platter. The rim has a beading near the edge, and is painted in matt buff, the interior of the platter being black-glazed.  $\cdot 03 \times \cdot 065$ . Letters  $\cdot 012$ , in dark brown paint.

- -  $\lambda a$  - - . Perhaps 5th century; part of the same name as on No. 88 (?).

90. Tiny fragment of rim, black-glazed.  $\cdot 02 \times \cdot 04$ . Letter  $\cdot 011$ , in white paint.

- -  $\nu$ .

91. Tiny fragment from the base of a vase of small diameter.  $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 025$ . Letters  $\cdot 003$ , incised.

$\cdot \theta a \nu a \eta [i a i]$ .

The type of *theta* proves this to be not later than the 5th century. There is not room for more than 12 letters at most, so perhaps the name of the goddess stood alone.

92. Fragment from the rim of a large black-glazed platter.  $\cdot 042 \times \cdot 035$ . Letter  $\cdot 017$ , in black paint on a buff band.

- -  $a$ .

93. Fragment of a black-glazed vase of Hellenistic date, the upper part plain, the lower moulded in vertical flutings.  $\cdot 04 \times \cdot 035$ . Letter  $\cdot 013$ , incised.

$\wedge$  - - .

94. Small fragment, with rim, from a cup with upright side, slightly concave.  $\cdot 042 \times \cdot 042$ . Letters  $\cdot 005$ , written with a pen in ink on matt buff slip.

$\cdot \theta a \nu ] a i a i$ .

95. Similar fragment, with rim, broken through and mended.  $\cdot 03 \times \cdot 055$ . Letters  $\cdot 005$ , as on the last.

$\cdot \theta ] a \nu a i a i$ .

96. Fragment from the moulded rim of a large platter, originally *ca.*  $\cdot 35$  in diameter.  $\cdot 05 \times \cdot 12$ . Letters  $\cdot 008$ , as on the two last, on matt white slip.

- -  $\varsigma \cdot \theta a \nu a i a i$ .

Apparently these three are of approximately the same date, which

may be before or shortly after 500 B.C. Owing to the position of the fracture it is not clear if the *sigma* had a fifth stroke at the top, now lost, or was merely a reversed 4-stroke one; the former is at least equally possible. It looks as if these three vases were dedicated by the same person, as the writing is remarkably similar, and the backward tilt of the *alpha* is a characteristic of them all.

97. Small clay loom-weight, pierced transversely near the top.  
H. .035. Letters .005, incised.

BA. Complete. Possibly *h* -- 'A[*θavaia*].

98. Fragment from the rim of a large platter, with matt buff slip.  
.02 × .075. Letters .012 in dark brown paint.

'A*θa*[*vaia*]. Not the same platter as No. 89.

The following five fragments were found in 1908, and were too late for inclusion in the photograph taken in that year (Fig. 3).

99. Fragment of black-glazed cup with curved shoulder and straight neck. .035 × .045. Letters .014, in white paint on the shoulder.

(A*β*IAI)

B]ασιλ[*δασ* -- (?)

Presumably contemporary with Nos. 81-84 above, and from the same donor.

100. Fragment of the side of a black-glazed cup, apparently of Hellenistic date. .028 × .02. Letters .007, incised.

(PE  
NA)

-- ρε --

'A*θ*]α*va*[*ia*(?).

101. Small fragment from the broad, moulded rim of platter, with buff slip. .03 × .026.

⏏

-- θ --

102. Similar fragment, but larger.  $\cdot 05 \times \cdot 12$ . Letter  $\cdot 016$ .



θ. No traces of adjacent letters.

103. Fragment of black-glazed platter, as Nos. 74 ff.  $\cdot 035 \times \cdot 03$ . Letters varying from  $\cdot 005$ – $\cdot 008$  high.



-- ξ ἀνέ[θεκε] --

A. M. W.

J. J. E. HONDIUS.

A. M. WOODWARD.

§ 2.—NON-VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM SPARTA <sup>1</sup> (Nos. 104–112).

- 104 (1503). Bronze plate broken on all sides, with two holes for suspension.  $\cdot 13 \times \cdot 13 \times \cdot 007$ .<sup>2</sup> Letters  $\cdot 015$  high. Found in or near the theatre below the Chalkioikos site. Engraved on one side only.



(?) εἴλουσα γ --  
-- τ] ὁ συναγόμε[νον] --  
-- ]ν ἐμβολίμ[ου] --

[Ἐπὶ Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδίου Βρασ[ίδου πατρονόμου(?)].

Similar bronze plates have been found at Olympia<sup>3</sup> and at Pagasae and Demetrias, where they are generally engraved with proxeny-decrees. This one is possibly of judicial import, as a date is clearly indicated in 1. 3.

<sup>1</sup> I desire to offer sincere thanks to Mr. Woodward for many useful suggestions respecting this section and to Mr. Tod for special help with Nos. 105, 106 and 123.—J. J. E. H.

<sup>2</sup> Measurements are given in the following order: Height  $\times$  Width  $\times$  Thickness.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger, *Inscr. v. Olympia*, 1–44.

L. 4. A Tiberius Cl. Brasidas was patronomos about A.D. 150,<sup>1</sup> a date which suits the style of the lettering.

105 (2603). Slab of bluish marble broken on the right side and at the bottom. .26 x .25 x .11. Letters .01; space between lines .006. Found "παρὰ τὸ Λεωνίδειον."

ΤΙΜΑΙΤΑΣΙΚΡΑΤΕΙ  
ΠΕΙΠΑΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΞΔΑΜΑ  
ΚΡΑΤΕΟΣΟΣΥΣΚΑΝΟΣΑ'  
ΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΟΣΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΣ  
ΚΟΙΝΩΜΕΝΕΙΣΤΟ  
ΠΡΟΣΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΤΟ  
ΤΩΝΣΥΣΚΑΝΩΝ  
ΑΣΟΥΔΕΝΕΝΑ  
ΑΞΙΩΣΑΥΤΟΥΤ  
ΤΕΛΕΚΕΝΔΕΚ  
ΚΟΙΝΩΣΤΟΣ  
ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ  
ΝΑΤ

Τιμαί Πασικράτει.

Ἐπεὶ Πασικράτης ἐ(ξ) Δαμα[ - - τοῦ(?)Πασι-]

κράτεος ὁ σύσκανος ἀγ[ήρ ἐστιν καλὸς]

καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὖνο[υς καὶ φιλότιμος]

5 κοινῶς μὲν εἰς τοῖς συσκάνοις καὶ]

πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶ[ν αὐτῷ συστρατιω-]

τῶν συσκάνων, [σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμί-]

ας οὐδὲν ἐνλ[είπων, λέγων καὶ πράττων]

ἀξίως αὐτοῦ τ[ε καὶ τῶν προγόνων, διατε-]

<sup>1</sup> I.G. v. i. 71 b, 21. For the family pedigree see I.G. v. i. p. 131, where Kolbe describes him as Τιβ. Κλ. Βρασίδας II.

10 τέλεκεν δὲ κ[αὶ εὐεργετῶν - - - - -]  
κοινῶς τοσφ - - - - -  
χρήματα[ παρέχων - - - - -]  
εἰαπ - - - - -

This restoration allows for a line of about 29-31 letters, but Mr. M. N. Tod points out that such headings as Τ[ε]μαὶ Πασικράτει are usually placed in the centre of the line (though there are notable exceptions),<sup>1</sup> so it seems possible that the top edge of the stone is nearly completely preserved, and that the other lines contain only 21-22 letters. On that supposition he would tentatively restore :—

Ἐπεὶ Πασικράτης ἐξ Δαμα[σι-  
κράτεος ὁ σύσκανος ἀ[νὴρ  
καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὖνο[υς ἐστι  
5 κοινῶς μὲν εἰς τὸ σ[ῶμα καὶ  
πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶ[ν - - -  
των συσκάνων [φιλοτιμί-  
ας οὐδὲν ἐνλ[είπων - -  
ἀξίως αὐτοῦ τ[- - - διατε-  
10 τέλεκεν δὲ κ[αὶ εὐεργετῶν  
κοινῶς τὸ σῶ[μα καὶ διδούς  
χρήματα - - - - -  
εἰαπ - - - - -

An inscription, dating from the second or first century B.C., set up by a military corporation<sup>2</sup> in honour of one of their number.<sup>3</sup> Such military corporations were common in Greece, and especially in Sparta and Crete. Sometimes a body of *συστρατιῶται* honours an officer, as

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* ii. 2<sup>2</sup> (ed. min.), 130, 133.

<sup>2</sup> For these corporations see Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* *συσείτια*; Poland, *Gesch. d. Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *I.G.* ii. 619 b, 619 c; *C.I.G.* 4269 b (Xanthos) and *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> (ed. min.) 1260, 1270, 1272, etc., for further fragments of such inscriptions from Sunium and Eleusia.

in the well-known inscription<sup>1</sup> set up by the Attic and mercenary soldiers from the forts at Eleusis, Panakton and Phyle in honour of their general Aristophanes; sometimes (as here) they honour a comrade,<sup>2</sup> and sometimes one man (mentioned by name) and his comrades set up a votive inscription.<sup>3</sup>

L. 1. For such summaries of the contents of an inscription cf. Larfeld, *Gr. Epigraphik*<sup>4</sup> (1914), p. 307, § 197; though he does not quote an instance of *τιμαί* we may compare *Προξενία* (*τῶι δαίνι*)<sup>4</sup> and *Προξενία καὶ εὐεργεσία*.<sup>5</sup>

L. 2. ΕΔΑΜΑ as a name seems hopeless, but the letter beyond Δ is clearly Ε, not Ε, and it seems more likely that the projection signifies a ligature of ἐξ (for ἐκ), and that Pasikrates is the freedman of Dama - (?). This gives *Πασικράτης ἐξ Δαμα[- τοῦ(?) Πασι]*, or, on Mr. Tod's restoration, Π. ἐξ Δαμα[σι]κράτεος. For this indication of manumission cf. ἐξ Ἀγήτας, as corrected by Mr. Tod in *I.G.* v. i. 177, where Ξ recurs (not ΕΞ) as = ἐξ.<sup>6</sup>

L. 3. σύσκανος. This is the usual form though it is sometimes written *σύνσκανος*;<sup>7</sup> it has also the meaning of "fellow-actor."<sup>8</sup>

L. 5. If the final letter is Σ, not Υ, we may restore *σῶμα* both here and in l. 11. It is one of the words used for "society" or "corporation."

L. 6. αὐτῶι, or possibly αὐτοῦ.

L. 9. The last letter is doubtful. If it is π, an alternative restoration for ll. 8, 9 is ἐν[εῖπων καὶ πάντα]|ἀξίως αὐτοῦ π[ράττων διατε-]|τέλεκεν.

106 (Sparta Mus., unnumbered). Slab of bluish marble complete on l. side. .25 × .115 × .04. Letters .025 high; space between lines .013. Exact provenance in Sparta unknown.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* ii. 619 b (= *I.G.* ii.<sup>3</sup> (ed. min.) 1299).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xii. i. 41 and 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xii. ii. 640, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii.<sup>3</sup> (ed. min.), 130, 161, 162.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 133.

<sup>6</sup> *J.H.S.* xxxiv. (1914) p. 61 f. Mr. Tod inclines to this solution, but mentions the alternative that ξ may in this case equal Ε', i.e. the fifth Pasikrates of that name. Β, Γ, Δ are used in this sense, and Β is sometimes written Β for differentiation when so used.

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.* xii. i. 101.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* xiv. 2342.



[ἡ πόλις - - τὸν δεῖνα  
προσδεξαμένου τὸ ἀνά-  
λωμα τοῦ δείνους]

-----  
[ - - - , ἀρχιερέως]  
τοῦ Σεβ[αστοῦ καὶ τῶν]  
θείων [προγόνων]  
αὐτοῦ [υἱοῦ πό-]

5 λεως [τῆς εἰς]  
ἐαυτοῦ[ν ἀρετῆς χάριν].

End of an honorary inscription, as is proved by the vacant space below the last line. Probably belonging to the 2nd century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The majority of Spartan inscriptions of this type are voted by the πόλις, the expense of erection being defrayed by some private individual, and this is assumed in the restoration offered.

Ll. 1, 2. For this title cp. *I.G.* v. i. 305, 504, 554, etc. Instead of τοῦ Σεβ[αστοῦ] the common abbreviated form τοῦ Σεβ may be read.<sup>2</sup> This gives a line of equal length to θείων [προγόνων], the restoration of which is certain; but in inscriptions of this kind and period such marked discrepancies of length of line occur that the full form may have been used.

Ll. 4, 5. υἱὸς πόλεως is a known Spartan title; cp. *I.G.* v. i. 37, 59, 65, all of which refer to one man, G. Pomponius Alcastus.<sup>3</sup> Possibly he was the recipient (or the donor) in the present case, as he was also a high-priest of the Emperor. An alternative reading is προστάτ<sup>ου</sup><sub>ην</sub> πόλεως.<sup>4</sup>

L. 6. ἐαυτο- is puzzling. An alternative restoration is ἐαυτοῦ[ν εὐνοίας χάριν],<sup>5</sup> but the other restoration seems preferable. The phrase may be used to justify and explain not the grant by the πόλις but the undertaking of the cost by such and such a man.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* v. i. 455-613.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 554.

<sup>3</sup> For whom see note on *I.G.* v. i. 116.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. i. 547, 683, with Mr. Tod's comment, *B.S.A.* x. 69, and *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 62.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* v. i. 572, ἡ πόλις - - τῆς εἰς αὐτὴν εὐνοίας χάριν.



107. Slab of white marble embedded in the main track across the Acropolis, inside the so-called Northern Gate.  $\cdot 24 \times \cdot 132$ ; thickness uncertain, as it was impossible to disengage the stone, but between  $\cdot 75$  and  $1\cdot 0$ . Letters  $\cdot 024$  high; space between lines  $\cdot 013$ .



πατρονόμος - - -  
 Θεοφράστ[ου - - -  
 Καλλικράτης - - -

This is probably a list of magistrates, but it may be a *cursus honorum*, in which case we may restore:—

πατρονόμος, - - - Ἰούλιος]  
 Θεοφράστ[ου πατρονόμος]  
 Καλλικράτης [- - - ου]  
 [πατρονόμος]

but no son of Theophrastus is known to have been a *patronomos*.

L. 2. Γ. Ἰούλιος Θεοφράστ[ος] is known in the 2nd century A.D.<sup>1</sup> and a Καλλικράτης at about the same date.<sup>2</sup> This suits the style of the lettering, but as the width of the stone is uncertain any restoration must be purely conjectural.

108 (1419). Gable-topped tombstone of bluish marble.  $\cdot 76 \times \cdot 525 \times \cdot 08$ . Letters  $\cdot 02$ — $\cdot 05$ . Provenance unknown.

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΧΑΙΡΕ

Ἱεροκλῆ χαῖρε.

For this form of the vocative -κλῆ cp. *I.G.* v. i. 748.

109. Slab of white marble, broken on all sides.  $\cdot 45 \times \cdot 16 \times \cdot 12$ . Surface so much worn that very few letters can be deciphered. Lying on the Acropolis on the right side of the main-track, some yards beyond the side-track which branches off to the left.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* v. i. 506, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xv. p. 69, No. 24.

ΑΙΑΕΒ  
ΤΟΝΤ  
ΩΤΑΙΠ  
Φ

αἰα ἐβ 1  
τον τ - -  
ωται π  
φ

- - - - 5  
- - - -

10  
ΝΤ

10  
ντ.

No restoration is possible.

110 (Sparta Mus., unnumbered). Slab of grey marble. .47 × .24 × .09. Letters .04 high.

Ι Π Π Α Ρ  
Χ Ι Α  
Χ Α Ι  
Ρ Ε

Ἰππαρχία χαῖρε.

The name Hipparchia is uncommon, but occurs *I.G.* vii. 636 (Tanagra). The inscription belongs to the 1st century B.C.

111 (1417). Base of whitish marble. .58 × .77 × .17. Letters .03 high.

Ε Π Ι Σ Τ Α Τ Ο Σ      Ἐπίστατος.

This form of the name does not occur elsewhere, though *I.G.* ii. 1038, 15 gives Ἐπιστάτης. For personal names derived from administrative duties cp. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, p. 514. The inscription belongs to the 4th century B.C.

112 (Sparta Mus., unnumbered). Slab of greyish marble. .58 × .29 × .065. Letters .025 high. Found "ὁδὸς Μιστρά."

ΤΥΧΗΧΑΙ  
ΡΕ ΕΤΗΒΙΩ  
Ε ΧΑΕΒ -

Τύχη χαί-  
ρε ἔτη βιώ-  
σασα εἰς -

The horizontal line after  $\beta$  is probably a symbol for *μήνας*, i. e. Tyche lived five years and two months. Though common in other parts of Greece, the name has only been found twice in Laconia.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription belongs to the 2nd century A.D.

§ 3.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM OTHER SITES IN LACONIA  
(Nos. 113–130).

GERAKI (Geronthrai).

Nos. 113–121 are part of the collection formed by the late Proedros G. Papanikolaou, and are still in the garden and balcony of his house at Geraki.<sup>2</sup> A manuscript catalogue compiled by him is said to be in existence,<sup>3</sup> and probably contains important evidence about the provenance of the various inscriptions. The collection includes the fine relief published *B.S.A.* xi. p. 104, Fig. 6.

113. Slab of bluish marble broken on the left side and at the bottom. .18 × .17 × .05. Letters .012 high; space between lines .002.

ΝΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕ	[Πόθοδο]ν ποιησαμέ-
ΞΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΝ	[νον Πολ]υξένου τοῦ Ν-
ΥΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟ	[- - - ο]ν Λακεδαιμο-
ΔΙΑΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΥ	[νίου καὶ] διαλεγομένου
ΞΕΝΙΑΣΚΑΙΤΩΙ	5 [περὶ προ]ξενίας καὶ τῶν
ΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝΥ Α	[ἄλλων φι]λανθρώπων κα[ὶ]
ΤΩΝΤΩΝΓΕ	[εὐχρήσ]των τῶν γε[γο-]
ΥΤΩΙΠ	[νότων α]ὐτῶι πρὸς τὰν
ΝΓΕΡ	[πόλιν τῶ]ν Γερρ[υθρα-]
	10 [τᾶν - - - -

The restoration is based on the formulae of *I.G.* v. i. 1112.

L. 1. πόθοδος (*Att.* πρόσσος) = an application for a hearing.

L. 2. Πολύξενος, a common Spartan name seems the right length to

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* v. i. 250; 1186, 2, 20.

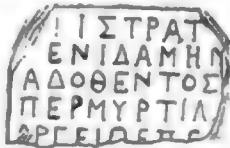
<sup>2</sup> The following inscriptions are still (11th April, 1921) in the late Demarch's house: *I.G.* v. i. 1110, 1114, 1116, 1119, 1121, 1122, 1130, 1131, 1135, 1136, 1139, 1141.

<sup>3</sup> Said to be in the hands of his son-in-law, M. Politza, a lawyer in Athens.

fill the gap. [Θρασ]ύξενος is a possible restoration, but though common elsewhere it has not yet been found in Laconia.<sup>1</sup>

L. 6. φιλάνθρωπα = services rendered by him;<sup>2</sup> it has also the meaning of 'privileges.'<sup>3</sup>

114. Slab of bluish marble complete at the top and on the left. .10 × .125 × .06. Letters .01 high; space between lines .005.



Ἐπὶ στρατ[αγῶ Δαμαρ(?) -]  
 μενίδα, μην[ός - - - - -]  
 ά, δοθέντος (infin.) ύ -]  
 πέρ Μυρτίλω [τῶ - - -]  
 Ἀργείω, ἐπε[ιδὴ Μυρτ -]  
 [ίλος - - -

Probably an honorary inscription of the 1st century B.C. The date, in any case, must be after 146 B.C., in which year Geronthrai joined the Eleuthero-Laconian League.<sup>4</sup> The restoration of the name of the strategos is of course purely conjectural, as any name ending in -ενίδας would do equally well. One Damarmenidas was strategos of the League in the reign of Claudius,<sup>5</sup> but the form of the letters makes it difficult to assign this inscription to that date.

115. Gable-topped slab of bluish marble, broken on the right and at bottom. .15 × .09 × .05. Letters .015; space between lines .003.



Ἐπὶ [ - - - - - στρατηγ -]  
 οὐ Πο - - - - -  
 οὐ Μ - - - - -  
 οὐ κ[αὶ - - - - -

No restoration is possible. Date as No. 114.

<sup>1</sup> These are the only names in ύξενος given by Bechtel, *op. cit.* p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. J. W. Tillyard, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 443; *I.G.* v. i 1112, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.* v. i. 1146, 52-54, 1145, 42.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, iii. 21, 7. See Swoboda, *Klio*, xii. (1912), pp. 21 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.* v. i. 1243.

116. Slab of bluish marble, broken on all sides.  $\cdot 165 \times \cdot 22 \times \cdot 06$   
Letters  $\cdot 02$ ; space between lines  $\cdot 01$ .

ΑΓΗΤC	--- ωι ---
ΠΟΣΓΟΙ	? Κλεάνω]ρ Ἀγητο[ρίδα?
ΥΜΟΣΕΤ	----- προς Γορ[γίου?
ΒΟΣΜΝΑ	Κλεώ]γυμος Ἐτ-----
ἈΡΟΣΕΥ	----- βος Μνα---
	Ἀλέξαν]δρος Εὐ--

A list of names, but no satisfactory restoration is possible.

117. Slab of bluish marble, broken on all sides.  $\cdot 12 \times \cdot 13 \times \cdot 09$ .  
Letters  $\cdot 02$  high; space between lines  $\cdot 008$ .

IMU	Λακεδα]ιμό[νιον?
ΑΡΩΝ	--- αρωγ---
ΑΣΕ	εὐνοί]ας ἔ[νεκα
ΔΑΝΤ	--- ωανα---

Fragment of an honorary decree of the 1st century B.C.

118. Base of bluish marble, broken on all sides.  $\cdot 08 \times \cdot 135 \times \cdot 10$   
Letters  $\cdot 018$  high.

ΕΡΜΑΝ	Ἑρμᾶν[ος]
-------	-----------

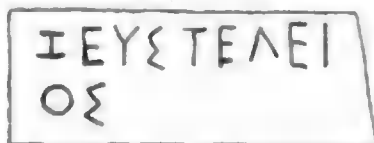
Probably the base of a statue of Hermes. The same form of the name is found in an inscription on a boundary stone from Chrysapha, near Sparta.<sup>1</sup> There may be some connection between this base and No. 120 (inscribed [Ἡερα]κλᾶς), but in the absence of any definite information as to the place where these inscriptions were found, it is unwise to assume such a connection. Most of the inscriptions at Geronthrai came from the ruins of the "Metropolis,"<sup>2</sup> the largest church in the Byzantine

<sup>1</sup> I.G. v. i. 371 and commentary.

<sup>2</sup> B.S.A. xi. pp. 106, 107.

village, and were probably collected from far and wide when it was erected; nothing is now left of it.

119. Base (?) of rough slate, upper side broken.  $\cdot 19 \times \cdot 02 \times \cdot 07$ .

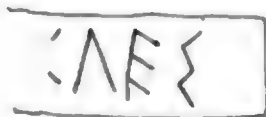


Zeus Télēi-

ος.

This inscription, which belongs to the 4th century B.C., is evidence of the worship of Zeus Teleios<sup>1</sup> in Laconia, which so far has rested only on a conjectural restoration by Tsountas<sup>2</sup> of a fragmentary inscription found at Chrysapha near Sparta, which he restores Διὸς Τε[λείου] and Kolbe<sup>3</sup> Δ. Τε[μενίου]. So far his worship was only known with certainty to have existed at Athens,<sup>4</sup> Kameiros in Rhodes<sup>5</sup> and Tegea.<sup>6</sup> His worship is sometimes associated with that of Hera Teleia, and this may have been the case at Geronthrai as in *I.G.* v. i. 1114 honour is paid to some one ἐπεσκευακὼς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἥρας.

120. Rough fragment of bluish stone.  $\cdot 21 \times \cdot 023 \times \cdot 10$ . Letters  $\cdot 09$  high.



[Hera]xλêς.

Probably the base of a statue of Herakles,<sup>7</sup> whose worship was widespread in Laconia.<sup>8</sup> Another dedicatory inscription in his honour was found in this neighbourhood,<sup>9</sup> though we have no evidence for any special local cult of Herakles at Geronthrai. The date of the inscription, which belongs to the middle of the fifth century B.C., is fixed by the forms of

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of the epithet Teleios see *Class. Rev.* xv. (1901), p. 445, where full reference is given to the literature of the name.

<sup>2</sup> *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1892, 22, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.* v. i. 372.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 294.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xii. i. 701, 704, 707.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. viii. 48, 6.

<sup>7</sup> See No. 118 above.

<sup>8</sup> S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 298.

<sup>9</sup> *I.G.* v. i. 1119.

the archaic *epsilon* and of the *sigma*. The former cannot be placed late in the century, the latter does not occur before 480 B.C.

121. Fragment of a relief of a warrior standing beside his horse, broken at the top and on the left side; right side apparently complete, unless the fracture has been trimmed off.  $\cdot 29 \times \cdot 32 \times \cdot 08$ . Letters  $\cdot 02$  high.

ΥΤΟΙΚΑΣΤΟΡ

---? ἀνέθεκε] γ τῷ Κάστορ[ι.

Possibly the first letter is the final of the dedicator's name, not of the verb.

The conjoint worship of the Dioskouroi was very common in Laconia, but Kastor had a shrine of his own at Sparta,<sup>1</sup> and a dedication to him alone is therefore intelligible.

The archaic form of the *sigma* and the use of *omikron* for *omega* suggest a date in the 5th century B.C.; the relief is somewhat later in style than the lettering. It is, however, possible that the archaic forms of the alphabet remained in use later in the country districts than in Sparta, especially for votive inscriptions.

122. Tombstone of bluish marble, slightly broken on all sides.  $\cdot 30 \times \cdot 28$ . Letters  $\cdot 03$ . Built into the wall of the church of H. Paraskevi, on the Byzantine Acropolis.

Δ Ε Ξ Ι Δ Α  
Μ Ε Χ Α Ι Ρ Ε ς

Δεξίδα-  
με χαιρε.

Bechtel, *op. cit.*, s. v. Δεξι- gives three names, Δεξιδημος, Δεξίδαμο[ς]<sup>2</sup> and Δεξιδάμας.<sup>3</sup>

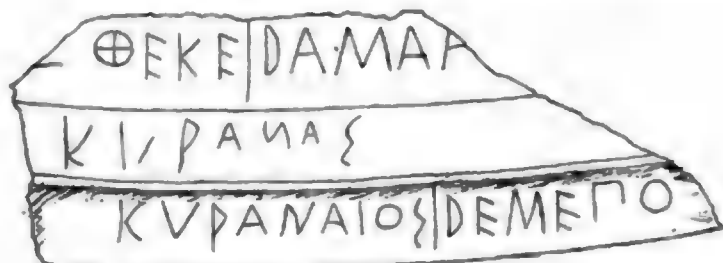
<sup>1</sup> Paus. iii. 13, 1. See S. Wide, *op. cit.* p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.* v. i. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 557 (Tanagra, 2nd century A.D.)

HYPERTELEATON.

123. Circular base of bluish marble, of which barely half remains.<sup>1</sup> Width .30; diam. .30. Letters: 1st line .05, 2nd and 3rd lines .04 high. From the temple site. Now in the courtyard of G. Mastromanolakos' house in the village, and in imminent danger of destruction.



--- ἀν]έθηκε Δαμαρ ---

Κυράνας

Κυράναϊος δέ μ' ἐποίη.

This fragment of a metrical inscription was probably engraved in the first half of the 5th century B.C., but it would be unwise to attempt to determine the date precisely, because (1) there are only thirteen letters in the extant portion of the inscription, (2) very few Laconian inscriptions can be dated with certainty on the ground of their contents, (3) archaic letter-forms may have remained in use at the Hyperteleatic sanctuary later than at Sparta.

The general effect of the inscription is, however, archaic, and it may be noted that an inscription dated to 479 B.C., or one of the immediately following years,<sup>2</sup> shows Ε instead of  $\Xi$ ; in our inscription the first *epsilon* is apparently Ε while the others are written  $\Xi$ . *Sigma* of this shape (ξ) appears already in the Delphic column. There is therefore no reason why our inscription should not have been engraved in the earlier half of the century. The *terminus ante quem* may be fixed by the Damonon inscription,<sup>3</sup> which is now generally dated to about 430 B.C., and gives the impression of being perceptibly later than our inscription. On the other hand, ours might certainly be a little later in date than one often connected with the Helot Revolt of 464 B.C.<sup>4</sup> but which Dittenberger (followed by Ed. Meyer) assigns to the 6th century B.C. We may therefore reasonably assign our inscription on epigraphical grounds to the first

<sup>1</sup> Very similar in shape to I.G. v. i. 981.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 264 (= I.G. v. i. 213).

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, 259 (the Delphic column).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 261 (= Hicks and Hill, 24).



half of the 5th century, and as the Laconian colonisation of Cyrene took place in 570 B.C. there is no historical reason against the dedication of a Cyrenaic artist's work in a Laconian sanctuary during that period.<sup>1</sup>

The exigencies of metre limit the possibilities of restoring this hexameter couplet.

L. 1. Δάμαρ --- seems certain. Personal names compounded with δῆμος have the *a* long, and therefore a restoration with Δαμάρης (a common Laconian name) is impossible, unless we assume a metrical lapse on the part of the composer of the couplet. The alternative is to use the poetical word δάμαρ = wife and to restore ἀν]έθηκε δάμαρ[υ - υ, etc.

L. 2. The letters in this line are so faintly cut that the squeeze hardly shows them, and the fine cutting contrasts oddly with the bold strokes of L. 1. The line appears to contain only one word, Κυράνας. As the stone is undamaged at this point, various undecipherable lines which appear on the squeeze are probably not letters.

The υ of Κυρήνη is long or short<sup>2</sup> (υ - υ), so that we may include Κυράνας in L. 1 and read [ῆ δεῖνα μ' ἀν]έθηκε δαμάρ[υ - υ] Κυράνας].

L. 3. Κυραναῖος δέ μ' ἐπο[ίε is the end of a hexameter and, presumably, of the inscription, so that the use of δέ after Κυραναῖος is difficult to understand if the artist's name came earlier in the inscription; therefore it seems better to restore the second line

- υ Κυράνας, Κυραναῖος δέ, μ' ἐπο[ίε

and to leave the first line unrestored.

This gives

- υ - μ' ἀν]έθηκε δάμαρ[υ - υ - -

- υ Κυράνας, Κυραναῖος δέ, μ' ἐπο[ίε

instead of

- υ - μ' ἀν]έθηκε δάμαρ[υ - υ] Κυράνας

- υ - υ - Κυραναῖος δέ μ' ἐπο[ίε.

It is unfortunate that this inscription is too much mutilated to throw any fresh light on the artistic and historical connection between Laconia

<sup>1</sup> Malten, *Kyrene*, pp. 95-165, shows conclusively that there was intercourse *before* that date.

<sup>2</sup> See Roscher, ii. 1737 (Studniczka); Malten, *op. cit.* p. 71.

and Cyrene in the earlier part of the 5th century B.C., or on the reasons which brought the work of a (presumably) Cyrenaic sculptor to the far-distant shrine of Apollo Hyperteleates,<sup>1</sup> but until the Italian excavations at Cyrene reveal the artistic history of this period speculation on the why and wherefore of this dedication is unprofitable.

124. Gable-topped relief of red marble, representing a veiled female figure.  $\cdot 65 \times \cdot 23 - 26 \times \cdot 05 - \cdot 08$ . Letters  $\cdot 02$  high. Found at Βράχη, now in the house of G. Koroneos.

ΦΙΛΑΡΙΝ ΧΑΙΡΕ      Φιλάρην χαίρε.

Female names ending in the neuter form *ιον* or its shortened form *ιν* are common in the late Laconian dialect,<sup>2</sup> and indeed in any late inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

125. Gable-topped tombstone of red marble with acroteria; in the gable a Greek cross.  $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 23 - 28 \times \cdot 05$ . Letters  $\cdot 03$  high. Found at Βράχη, now in the house of G. Koroneos.

ΤΡΟΦΙΜΕ	Τρόφιμε
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαίρε,
ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗ	Σωκράτηα
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαίρε

This inscription is dated by its lettering to the 4th century A.D. The name Trophimos is common.<sup>4</sup> The use of *η* for *ει* (Σωκράτηα instead of Σωκράτεια) is found from the 3rd century B.C. onwards, and is in common use from the 1st century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this *epitheton* is not clear, but it has probably a geographical significance.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *I.G.* v. i. 785, 790, 1277, 1303, etc.

<sup>3</sup> See Thumb, *Handbuch*, § 96; Buck, *Introduction*, *Glossary*, s.v. *Κασσηπατόριον*; Jannaris, *Historical Gk. Grammar*, p. 302 and *Byz. Zeitsch.* ix. (1900), p. 418.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *I.G.* v. i. 1398 (3rd century A.D.).

<sup>5</sup> Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. Att. Inschr.* p. 47.

## DAEMONIA (Kotyrta?).

126. Column of 'poros.'  $\cdot 46 \times \cdot 95 \times \cdot 15$ . Diameter of column  $\cdot 24$ . Letters  $\cdot 03$  high (letters  $\cdot 04$  high). On the Kastelli in the field of D. K. Biliás (see Fig. 3, p. 149).



L. 1. The last letter seems to be P, but as this is an impossible combination with Δ, I emend as ι, Ἀρμόδιε.

Ll. 3, 4. Κάλλιος as a proper name is not found elsewhere, but is easily intelligible as one of many 'pet names' of kindred form—Καλλίς, Καλλώ, Καλλίω, etc.

Ll. 6, 7. The name Κάλλιχον may be a variant of Καλλίχων, the 'pet-name' formed from Καλλίχορος, or it may be a woman's name, a hypocoristic form derived from Καλλίχαρις or Καλλιχόρα.

## NOTE.

I.G. v. i. 967 is still in the house of the Proedros, Mr. D. Lēras (Λήρας).

The restoration there given seems too long, as there is only room for 8, or at most 9, letters. I suggest

Ὅνατε, [ἐτῶν  
μέ', χαῖ]ρε.

For the unusual order of the formula, cp. *I.G.* v. i. 757.

The name Onatos is mentioned by Pape-Benseler as that of a Pythagorean of Croton (*Iambl. v. Pyth.*, 267; *Stob. ecl. phys.* ci.).

*I.G.* v. i. 977 has been removed to the blacksmith's forge in the neighbouring village of Vilies. The blacksmith uses it (upside down) as the base for a drill (!). It was a good deal damaged in transit and is now burnt quite black.

Mr. Leras himself had recently thrown away a fragment of stone inscribed ΠΕΙΣ, possibly part of a name such as Πεισ[ικράτης].

GYTHION.<sup>1</sup>

127. Slab of bluish marble, broken all round. .25 × .23 × .11. Letters .03 high; space between lines .05. In the Museum.

ἸΡΟΔΩΝΟ  
ΠΟΛΕΙΤΟ  
ΥΕΩΣΑΜ  
ΟΡΑΝΟΝ  
ΧΙ

ἡ πόλις ἡ Γυθειῶν]  
υἰὸν Ἰρόδωνο[ς - - - τοῦ εὐδοξο-]  
τάτου] πολεῖτο[ν  
ἀνα]γεωσάμ[ενον  
ἀγ]ορανομ[ήσαντα  
σαι.

The inscription belongs to the 2nd century A.D., in the middle of which a Ἰρόδων Ἰρόδωνος was a member of the Gerousia; <sup>2</sup> a restoration of this name is therefore possible, but it seems better to follow the usual formula (ἡ πόλις κτε.), and to restore either υἰό]ν or a name ending in -ον or -ην.

Ll. 4, 5. If the last letter is ε, not ο, an alternative restoration is πολεῖτε[υσάμενον ἀριστα καὶ ἀνα]γεωσάμ[ενον. The middle voice of ἀνανεόω is used in the sense of to restore (i. e. rebuild) a building, but it

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* v. i. 1293 has been brought to the Museum at Gythion from Areopolis.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 108.

is not certain that the recipient 'restored' a building; he may have refounded a festival.

128. Lower portion of a slab of bluish marble, broken off above and on the left side.  $\cdot 15 \times \cdot 145 \times \cdot 04$ . Letters  $\cdot 03$  high, with *apices*. In the Museum.

Λ Ε Ι Κ Ο

ς ΕΙΚΟ

ΙΚΕ 

? ἐτῶ]ν κέ

Presumably a funerary inscription, but the letters in l. 1 are puzzling. They suggest some such restoration as τᾶς εἰκό[νος] or τᾶς εἰκό[νας].

129. Gable-topped tombstone of bluish marble.  $\cdot 20 \times \cdot 26 \times \cdot 025$ . Letters  $\cdot 03$  high. In the Museum.

ΜΝΗΜΗΚΕ  
ΚΟΥΝΤΑΣ

Μνήμη Σε-

κούντας.

The form Σεκούντα instead of the usual Σεκούνδα is an example of the transition from δ to τ (so frequent in modern Greek in the combination -ντ-) which is found in Egyptian documents from the 2nd century B.C. Mayser<sup>1</sup> notes "Die Erscheinung (of δ, τ, θ) ist auch auf dem Boden Kleinasiens (infolge einheimischer Aussprache) nachgewiesen, fehlt aber in der übrigen κοινή, z. B. auf den voll. hercul. ganz." It is found in Rhodes,<sup>2</sup> in an Attic inscription<sup>3</sup> (Κυλλάντιοι), and at Delphi<sup>4</sup> (Βρεντεσίνος = of Brundisium). But this Gythion inscription belongs to the 2nd century A.D., and it is possible that in it the change may be due to the influence of Latin.

<sup>1</sup> Mayser, *Grammatik d. Griech. Papyri*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Schweizer, *Gramm. Pergamen. Inschr.*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.* i. 229, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> i. 585, l. 70.

130. Gable-topped slab of bluish marble.  $\cdot 16 \times \cdot 21 \times \cdot 02$ . Letters  $\cdot 025$  high. In the Museum.

ΧΑΙΡΕΘΕΛΠΟΥΣΑ  
ΚΑΛΗ ΕΤΗΥΗ  
(Α(Α ΙΔ

*Χαῖρε Θέλπουσα*

*καλή, ἔτη ζή-*

*σασα ιδ'.*

This inscription belongs to the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

The nymph Thelpousa was the mythical foundress of the town of the same name in Arcadia.

J. J. E. HONDIUS.

## LACONIA.

### II.—NOTES ON TOPOGRAPHY.

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THE following notes are intended to supplement the topographical articles published in Volumes XIV. and XV. of this *Annual*. In addition to the classical remains mentioned below, we wish to call attention to the interesting Byzantine churches at Chrysapha, Zaraphon, Gouves, Apidia and the monasteries of Daphni, north of Geraki, and of H. Ioannes Prodromos, south of that village.

#### THERAPNE.

This township is usually placed on the precipitous hills to the south-east of Sparta on the left bank of the Eurotas, where the hills approach quite close to the river. The site of the Menelaion, which was in Therapne, was identified by Ross and has since been excavated by Kastriotēs in 1900 and by the British School in 1909 and 1910;<sup>1</sup> but the exact site of the township itself has not yet been located, and, as the excavation reports show, no other Greek building has been found on these hills, although the remains of a considerable late Mycenaean settlement are to be found there.<sup>2</sup> From the words of Pausanias, who says: <sup>3</sup> *Θεράπνη δὲ ὄνομα μὲν τῇ χωρίῳ γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λέλεγος θυγατρὸς*, we may conclude that the whole region was called Therapne and consequently the following words, *Μενελάου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναός*, are no argument that the Menelaion lay within the town. Thus the latter might have been situated further to the east in the direction of the modern village of Chrysapha. The steep hills along the Eurotas do not give an easy access to the plateau at any point, and so the ancient road to Therapne may

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xv. p. 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. p. 4 ff.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 19. 9.

have been nearly parallel to the modern road to Chrysapha; that is to say, it would leave Aphisou on its left and then ascend the gentle slope of the river valley to the rocky plateau above. Half an hour after reaching this point there is a good spring, and a little further on, about three quarters of an hour from Chrysapha, a low hill called Polyxeve; perhaps this may be identified with the fountain and temple of Polydeukes mentioned by Pausanias. In the neighbourhood there is another hill called Kastori, and we know that there was a temple of the Dioskouroi at Therapne. Moreover, half an hour south of Chrysapha, at a place called Pikromygdalia, there is the heroön<sup>1</sup> which yielded the famous hero relief now at Berlin and inscriptions referring to Hermes and Zeus Teleios (?). But it is impossible to identify this with any known site,



FIG. 1.—HELLENIC REMAINS AT SELINOS.

for according to Livy<sup>2</sup> the Phoibaion, which was not far from Therapne, lay to the south of Sparta in the valley of the Eurotas on the right bank of the river.

Between Chrysapha and Zaraphon the road climbs steeply beyond the small village of Perpeni, and on the brow of the hill, some distance to the right of the road, there is a mediaeval watch-tower and, south of Zaraphon, are the considerable ruins of a fort of about the same period.

#### SELINOS.

This village seems to have been rightly placed by Curtius<sup>3</sup> near the ruined monastery of Daphni at a place called Nerotrivi. Round a ruined chapel of H. Athanasios many Hellenic walls are to be seen, the best preserved of which is shown here in Fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> *S.M.C.* p. 102; *Ath. Mitt.* 1877, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> xxxiv. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Peloponnes*, ii. p. 304; *B.S.A.* xv. p. 164.



## PALAIA.

This village is usually placed at Apidia,<sup>1</sup> which may be right, but there are two other possible sites. One is at Aloupochori, where there is a large Roman cistern near the church of H. Paraskeve, five minutes to the south of the village; but no other remains are to be seen there, and it seems to be too near Geraki (Geronthrai). The other possible site is the village of Gouves, which lies in the plain an hour-and-a-half to the south-west of Aloupochori. Here we were shown a small handleless Hellenistic pot said to have been found at a place called Tsoukala, half an hour to the north of the village, where there is a ruined church with foundations of brick which might possibly date from Roman times, and the remains of a thick marble vase. For the present, however, it is better to place Palaia at Apidia, which has many ruins and seems to have been an important site in Byzantine times.<sup>2</sup> The prosperous village of Niata, to the east of Apidia, is modern, and no classical remains have ever been found there.

## EPIDELIUM.

This site has been correctly placed by Hasluck<sup>3</sup> at the modern Voutama, where ruins can still be seen under the sea. It should be mentioned, however, that there is a good road from the modern village of Pharaklo near the ancient Boiai to Voutama, while the route from Pharaklo to Cape Kamili, where others have placed Epidelium, is far more difficult. At Voutama there is the only good anchorage to be found between Monemvasia and Malea. Hasluck also rightly observed that the distance of three hundred stadia between Epidauros Limera and Malea given by Pausanias is incorrect, and therefore his indications for the site of Epidelium cannot be trusted.

<sup>1</sup> B.S.A. xv. p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Coins of C. Julius Eurycles, tyrant of Sparta in the reign of Augustus (R. Weil, *Ath. Mitt.* 1881, pp. 10-20, and E. Kjellberg, *Klio*, xvii. (1920), p. 44), are frequently found at Apidia; one shown to us bore *obv.* a bearded head of Zeus or Asklepios, *rev.* ΩΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΕΡΡΥ ΚΛΟΣ (No. 4 in Weil's list). The towns of the Eleuthero-Laconian League, to which Palaia belonged, were not subject to him (Paus. iii. 21. 6), but had friendly relations with him; e. g., Asopos set up honorary inscriptions recording his merits (*I.G.* v. 1, 970, 971). But no doubt his coins circulated throughout Laconia.

<sup>3</sup> B.S.A. xiv. p. 175.

## TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS LIMNATIS.

This site is probably placed correctly by Hasluck <sup>1</sup> near the modern church of H. Thekla, an hour-and-a-half from Voutama. Many ancient blocks and some marble columns are to be seen in the walls of the fields round the church and some marble columns which were found a few hundred metres to the east towards the sea. Above the church the valley is called Perivolia, and on the plateau is *one* village, not *two* (as indicated in the French map), called Chassanaga. Beyond the village, some two hundred metres further up, are the well-preserved ruins of a fort, now called Pyrgos, which commands the road leading towards Daimonia, the probable site of Kotyrta. Here there is a small plateau

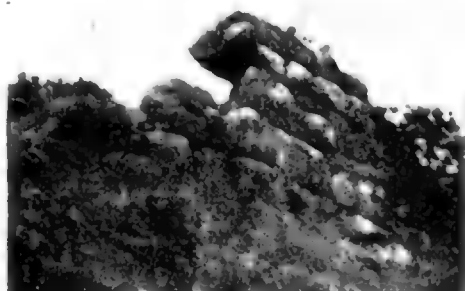


FIG. 2.—LOWER WALL OF THE FORT ABOVE CHASSANAGA.

surrounded by a wall of Hellenic masonry, in places six courses high (Fig. 2), and on the north a flight of steps cut in the rock leading to a higher level. If the site at H. Thekla has been correctly identified with the temple of Artemis Limnatis, this fort would lie within the territory of Epidauros Limera.

## HYPERTELEATON.

In 1885 the Greek Archaeological Society carried out excavations at a place called Chassanaga, or Laka, to the south of the modern village of Phoiniki,<sup>2</sup> where inscriptions on marble and bronze from a temple of Apollo Hyperteleates had been found.<sup>3</sup> Although the excavations did not result in the discovery of the temple, there are many ancient remains

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 176.<sup>2</sup> *Πρακτικά*, 1885, p. 31 ff.<sup>3</sup> *Cp. B.S.A.* xiv. p. 165.

to be seen on the site, twenty minutes from the village. On the right of the road as one approaches the site from Phoiniki is a deep pit called Vothona, from which earth seems to have been dug to terrace up the site. On the terrace above the pit the foundations of a rectangular building can still be traced (30 × 18 metres) and may be part of the foundations of the temple. Parallel with one of the long sides on the north is another wall which was apparently the supporting wall of the terrace. To the west, some three metres below, is a flight of three steps. The present owner, Georgios Mastromanolakos, has in the court of his house in the village many ancient blocks, including an inscribed base.<sup>1</sup> He has also five fragments of bronze arms and legs from statues, and he is said to sell antiquities at good prices. As he is disturbing and destroying the site by his private and illicit digging, further excavations should be undertaken here.

At the place called Rache there is a subterranean building supported by pillars built with stones cut into the shape of bricks. It is very possibly a Roman hypocaust.

#### DAIMONIA.

The neighbourhood of this village, which is possibly the site of Kotyrtā,<sup>2</sup> deserves more careful investigation than we were able to carry out. On the rocky hill called Kastelli to the west of the village and everywhere foundations of ancient buildings can be seen. Boblaye<sup>3</sup> observed them, but later explorers have apparently missed them. Below Kastelli to the west has recently been found a grave inscription (Fig. 3)<sup>4</sup> and the remains of a large sepulchral monument while on the neighbouring slopes there are several tombs cut in the rocks. The Acropolis (Kastelli) looks as though it might have been inhabited in very early times, although we found no potsherds to support this view. Some fragments of Doric columns, now in the house of Mr. Lēras (Λήρας), who also possesses many Hellenistic vases, were found by the side of the road at the foot of the Acropolis to the north-east, where many foundations can still be seen in the fields. More interesting is the fact that Mr. Lēras has in his possession some hands, hearts and other votive limbs in stone which suggest that a

<sup>1</sup> No. 123, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 166; cp. Thucydides, iv. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Récherches*, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> No. 126, p. 140.

temple of Asklepios existed here. Asklepios seems to have been a popular deity in south-eastern Laonia, for Pausanias mentions several shrines of Asklepios at Asopos, Boadi, Epidauros Limera and Hyperteleton. The French Expedition put the Hyperteletic sanctuary at Daimonia, and the distance given by Pausanias (fifty stadia from Asopos, Plytra <sup>1</sup>) would agree with this; but the inscriptions found prove that the Hyperteletic sanctuary was at the place described near Phoiniki, and it is hardly likely that the whole district as far as Daimonia was called Hyperteleton. Pausanias gives us only some scattered observations on the



FIG. 3.—INSCRIPTION AND ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AT DAIMONIA.

topography of this district, which he does not seem to have visited. Further explorations, coupled with trial excavations, in this neighbourhood might therefore give important results.

#### BIANDINA.

At Elea the port of Molaoi, north of Asopos, we saw several columns in a garden and some ancient foundations on the hill where the modern cemetery is, which support the view <sup>2</sup> that Biandina should be located here.

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 162.

## HELOS.

Half an hour to the south-west of the Kalyvia of Vezani<sup>1</sup> there are some ancient walls, and we were also shown some columns said to come from the same neighbourhood at Vlachiote, but the wet weather unfortunately prevented us from exploring this marshy district.

J. J. E. HONDIUS.

M. A. HONDIUS-VAN HAEFTEN.

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xv. p. 161.

## A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE DEME HALIMOUS.<sup>1</sup>

EARLY in 1921 the Neuchâtel Asphalte Company, in beginning the construction of the new coast road from Old Phaleron to Vouliagmene



FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE DISTRICT FROM CAPE KOLIAS TO VOULIAGMENE.

(see map, Fig. 1), found not far inland from the small promontory of Hagios Kosmas some ancient foundations, and by them the inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> I desire to express my thanks to the Epigraphical Editor, Mr. M. N. Tod, for valuable criticism and suggestions.

tion, which is here published. The discovery was communicated by Mr. Bottomley, Manager of the Company, to the British School, and to him I am indebted for permission to publish it, and also for the sketch plan of the ancient foundations here shown (Fig. 2). On the top of a low hill the line of a wall (about 1.50 m. thick) of the late fifth or fourth century B.C., built of rectangular blocks of *poros*, appeared, and on the top of this the inscription was found as indicated in the plan (Fig. 2). Slightly north of the inscription was a large block running out westwards at right angles to the main wall. If the main wall is the boundary of the Shrine of Dionysos mentioned in the inscription, it is possible that this big block formed part of the shrine itself. In any case it seems

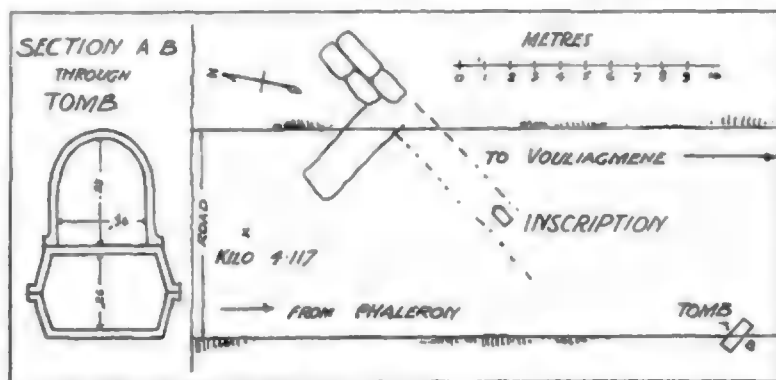


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF WALLS AND SECTION THROUGH TOMB.

likely that we should recognise in these remains, scanty though they are, the ruins of the Dionysion in which the inscription was to be erected. On the south side of the road a double tomb came to light (Fig. 2). In the upper tomb, which was covered by a large tile so curved that it was in section half an ellipse, a small aryballos with a simple anthemion ornament in a very late red-figure style was found with a few much-decayed bones, perhaps those of a child; but in the lower tomb, which was made of two shallow rectangular troughs of terra-cotta, there were only a few bones. The tomb, which cannot be earlier than the late fifth century B.C., would not be likely to have any connection with the Dionysion, and was in any case outside it.

The inscription is cut on a gable-topped stele of Pentelic marble slightly broken both above and below; .58 m. high, .27-.30 m. broad

and .05-.08 m. thick; the letters are .008 high; the space between the lines = .01 m. The stone is now No. 12,560 in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. The text, which is written *στοιχηδόν*, is as follows:—

Θ Ε Ο Φ Ι Λ Ο Ξ Ε Ι Γ Ε Ν Ε Μ Ε Ι Δ  
 Η Χ Α Ρ Ι Ξ Α Ν Δ Ρ Ο Σ Κ Α Λ Ω Ξ Κ  
 Α Ι Φ Ι Λ Ο Τ Ι Μ Ω Ξ Ε Ρ Ε Μ Ε Λ Η  
 Φ Η Τ Ω Ν Ο Υ Ξ Ι Ω Ν Υ Π Ε Ρ Τ Ο Υ  
 Δ Η Μ Α Ρ Χ Ο Υ Ι Ξ Χ Υ Ρ Ι Ο Υ Ε Λ  
 Ο Μ Ε Ν Ω Ν Α Υ Τ Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν Δ Η Μ Ο  
 Τ Ω Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Α Ξ Ι Ε Ρ Ο Π Ο Ι Ι Α  
 Ξ Ο Ξ Α Ξ Ο Ι Δ Η Μ Ο Τ Α Ι Π Ρ Ο Ξ  
 Ε Τ Α Ξ Α Ν Ε Υ Η Ψ Ι Ξ Ο Α Ι Α Λ Ι  
 Μ Ο Υ Ξ Ι Ο Ι Ξ Ε Π Α Ι Ν Ε Σ Α Ι Χ  
 Α Ρ Ι Ξ Α Ν Δ Ρ Ο Ν Χ Α Ρ Ι Ξ Ι Α Δ  
 Υ Κ Α Ι Ξ Τ Ε Φ Α Ν Ω Ξ Α Ι Α Υ Τ  
 Ν Χ Ρ Υ Ξ Ω Ι Ξ Τ Ε Φ Α Ν Ω Ι Α Π  
 Ο Π Ε Ν Τ Α Κ Ο Ξ Ι Ω Ν Δ Ρ Α Χ Μ Ω  
 Ν Α Ρ Ε Θ Η Ξ Ε Ν Ε Κ Α Κ Α Ι Δ Ι Κ  
 Α Ι Ο Ξ Υ Ν Η Ξ Τ Η Ξ Ε Ι Σ Τ Ο Υ Ξ Δ  
 Η Μ Ο Τ Α Ξ Α Ν Α Γ Ρ Α Υ Α Ι Δ Ε Τ  
 Ο Υ Η Φ Ι Ξ Μ Α Τ Ο Ν Δ Η Μ Α Ρ Χ Ο  
 Ν Κ Υ Β Ε Ρ Ν Ι Ν Ε Ι Σ Τ Α Κ Ο Ι Ν  
 Α Γ Ρ Α Μ Μ Α Τ Ε Ι Α Κ Α Ι Ε Ν Ξ Τ  
 Η Λ Ε Ι Λ Ι Θ Ι Ν Ε Ι Κ Α Ι Ξ Τ Η Ξ  
 Α Ι Ε Ν Τ Ω Ι Δ Ι Ο Ν Υ Ξ Ι Ω Ι





Θεοί.

Θεόφιλος εἶπεν · ἐπειδ-  
 ἡ Χαρίσανδρος καλῶς κ-  
 αὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελή-  
 5 (θ)η τῶν οὐσιῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 δημάρχου Ἰσχυρίου, ἐλ-  
 ομένων αὐτὸν τῶν δημο-  
 τῶν καὶ τὰς ἱεροποιία-  
 ς ὅσας οἱ δημόται προσ-  
 10 ἔταξαν, ἐψηφίσθαι Ἀλι-  
 μουσίοις · ἐπαινέσαι Χ-  
 αρίσανδρον Χαρισιάδ-  
 [ο]ν καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτ-  
 [ὸ]ν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ὑπ-  
 15 ὃ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶ-  
 ν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικ-  
 αιοσύνης τῆς εἰς τοὺς δ-  
 ημότας · ἀναγράψαι δὲ τ-  
 ὃ ψηφίσμα τὸν δήμαρχο-  
 20 ν Κύβερνιν εἰς τὰ κοιν-  
 ᾶ γραμματεῖα καὶ ἐν στ-  
 ῆλει λιθίνει καὶ στήσ-  
 αι ἐν τῷ Διουνυσίωι.

The date of our inscription can in the first place be fixed approximately by the forms of the letters, ΑΒΕΘΜΝΞΟΠΞΦΩ, which point to the second half of the fourth century B.C., and closely resemble the lettering in an inscription from the Amphiareion at Oropus, dated to the archonship of Euthykritos 328-7.<sup>1</sup> We also come to the same conclusion by careful study of the persons mentioned. We find a Κύβερνις Κυδίου Ἀλιμούσιος as proposer of an Attic decree,<sup>2</sup> dated to the archonship of Polyeuktos,<sup>3</sup> that is 275-4 B.C., or, following Pomtow,<sup>4</sup> 279-8 B.C., and the same person occurs in a Delphian inscription of about

<sup>1</sup> B. Leonardos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 8918.

<sup>3</sup> *I. G.*, II.<sup>2</sup> 680 = Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 408.

<sup>4</sup> *G. G. A.*, 1913, p. 178.

the same period.<sup>1</sup> Koumanoudes long ago suggested with great probability that the Kydias who fell at Thermopylae in 279-8 B.C. was a son of Kybernis.<sup>2</sup> Thus according to the Athenian system, by which men were named after their grandfathers, we can assume this pedigree:—

Kybernis I	± 330 B.C.
Kydias I	± 300 B.C.
Kybernis II	± 280 B.C.
Kydias II	† 279 B.C.

The name Kybernis is a shortened form<sup>3</sup> of Kybernesios, called after the Athenian festival of the Kybernesia, which, it is interesting to note, took place at Phaleron, and therefore quite close to Halimous.<sup>4</sup>

A Θεόφιλος Ἀλιμούσιος was ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων in the archonship of Themistokles, 347-6 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> and ours may be the same man or his son.

Lykourgos<sup>6</sup> wrote a speech Κατὰ Ἰσχυρίου; but as the chronological order of his orations is not known, we can only say that Ischyrius lived during Lykourgos' career as an orator, *i.e.*, between 340 and 325 B.C. So we may perhaps identify the Ischyrius against whom Lykourgos spoke with ours, because he seems to have been removed for some reason from his position as demarch (p. 157).

A Χαρισιάδης Χαρισίου Ἀλιμούσιος we know from a speech of Demosthenes<sup>7</sup> made in 346 or 345 B.C. As we also know another way of giving names in many families was to retain the first part of the father's name, but to add another ending, *e.g.* Νικόστρατος Νικιάδου Ἀλιμούσιος, Μιμνοκράτης Μιμνομάχου Ἀλιμούσιος,<sup>8</sup> we may see in this Charisandros a son of the Charisiades mentioned above, who lived about 325 B.C., and the Charisandros who was archon in 376-5 B.C.<sup>9</sup> may be the great-

<sup>1</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. 2. 159 = Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 403.

<sup>2</sup> *I. G.*, II. 323; Pausanias, x. 21. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 524.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Theseus* 17; A. Mommsen, *Feste d. Stadt Athen*, p. 290.

<sup>5</sup> Kirchner, *op. cit.* 7125.

<sup>6</sup> *Frag.* 56 B.

<sup>7</sup> LVII. 24 (*ed.* Dindorf); Kirchner, *op. cit.* 15485, 7255.

<sup>8</sup> Kirchner, *op. cit.* 11020, 10220; *cf.* Van Gelder, *Iets over Grieksche eigennamen*, *Meded. Koninkl. Akad. v. Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, LIII. (1921), A. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Kirchner, *op. cit.* 15471.

grandfather of ours. Thus taking all points into consideration we may date the inscription about 330-325 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Since by this inscription found at Hagios Kosmas the exact position of the Deme Halimous is at last fixed, we may quote the principal authorities, which agree entirely with the new evidence.

Pausanias (I. 31. 1.) says :—*δῆμοι δὲ οἱ μικροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος οἰκισθεῖς, τὰδε ἐς μνήμην παρείχοντο*. 'Αλιμουσίοις < μὲν > Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν Ζωστήρῃ < δὲ > ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βωμὸς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς.

Strabo (IX. 21) gives this list :—*Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ Φαληρεῖς δῆμος ἐν τῇ ἐφεξῆς παραλίᾳ*. εἶθ' Ἀλιμούσιοι, Αἰξωνεῖς, Ἀλαιεῖς οἱ Αἰξωνικοί, Ἀναγυράσιοι. . . .

Demosthenes<sup>2</sup> gives its distance from the city as thirty-five stadia, and the scholiast on Aristophanes<sup>3</sup> says it was a deme of the Leontid tribe; a grave inscription of *Μιμνοκράτης Μιμνομάχου Ἀλιμούσιος* was found at Chasani close<sup>4</sup> by. Although grave inscriptions are scattered all about Attica and in themselves are of little value for fixing the site of a deme, yet in connection with other evidence they have some weight. We may thus place the central point of Halimous at or near the modern farmstead of Chasani, where there are many ancient walls and foundations and which also has good water; Leake placed Halimous at this very spot.<sup>5</sup>

It was one of the smallest Attic demes, for in 346 B.C. it had only some eighty citizens,<sup>6</sup> and belonged to the urban district of the Leontid tribe.<sup>7</sup> It was famous for its Thesmophoria,<sup>8</sup> which were held by the Athenian women on the tenth day of this festival at the temple of Demeter at Cape Kolias. In spite of the arguments of Milchhoefer,<sup>9</sup> who placed Kolias<sup>10</sup> at Treis Pyrgoi by Old Phaleron (marked

<sup>1</sup> See notes on ll. 20-22, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> LVII. 13 (ed. Dindorf).

<sup>3</sup> *Aves*, 496; cf. Harpocration, Stephanus Byz., and Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.*, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> *I. G.*, II. 1807; Milchhoefer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII. (1888), p. 359.

<sup>5</sup> *Topography of Athens and the Demi*, II. p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Haussoullier, *La Vie Municipale*, p. 44, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> Loeper, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII. (1892), p. 376 ff.; Milchhoefer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII. (1893), p. 293 ff.; Kolbe, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. ad Aristoph., *Thesmoph.*, 80.

<sup>9</sup> Curtius-Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Text II., p. 1 ff., p. 29; cf. Loeper, *loc. cit.*, p. 378.

<sup>10</sup> cf. Herodotus, VIII. 96 (cf. How and Wells *ad loc.*); Plutarch, *Solon*, 8; Polyaeus, 1. 02; Hesychius, Stephanus Byz., s.v. and Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.*, p. 275.

as Kolias on the map, Fig. 1), I would suggest that Hagios Kosmas is a more probable site. Treis Pyrgoi is only six hundred yards from the probable site of Phaleron, while Hagios Kosmas is some twenty-five stadia, which agrees better with Pausanias' statement<sup>1</sup> that it was twenty stadia from Phaleron.

The inscription gives some interesting details about the administration of the deme,<sup>2</sup> which we will discuss more generally. The first point is that the demarch was elected and not chosen by lot as most modern scholars think.<sup>3</sup> For we know that when a magistrate was chosen by lot, a deputy, the so-called *ἐπιλαχών*, was also chosen in case the former died within the year.<sup>4</sup> Since the demesmen in this case elected the deputy (lines 6 ff.), *ἐλομένων αὐτὸν τῶν δημοτῶν*, we may conclude that they also elected the demarch.

Another important point is why the acting demarch Charisandros looked after the affairs of the deme *ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημάρχου*, in the name of the demarch.<sup>5</sup> When the demarch fell ill or died, a new one had to be elected; but for a deputy to be necessary, it seems that the magistrate would have to be absent on military service or else suspended for irregularities in the execution of his duties. We know that all Athenians had to serve in the army, but we can assume that magistrates during their year of office only served when the people went out *πανδημεί*. On the other hand, we know from Demosthenes<sup>6</sup> that irregularities in the Deme Halimous were very common. Thus we may suppose that the demarch Ischyrias was alleged to have committed some irregularity and that, while the case was *sub judice*, he was suspended from office.

L. 5. *τῶν οὐσιῶν*. A deme could own various kinds of property:—

(1) Land let to tenants.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I. 1. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The best account is still that of Haussoullier, *La Vie Municipale en Attique* (Paris, 1888), but cf. also Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.; J. B. Edwards, *The Demesman in Attic Life*.

<sup>3</sup> e. g. Schoemann-Lipsius, *Griech. Altert.*, I.<sup>4</sup>, p. 390; Gilbert, *Griechische Staatsalterthümer*, p. 204 ff.; Haussoullier, *op. cit.* p. 58, is right.

<sup>4</sup> Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *ἀρχαί*; cf. Demosthenes, LVIII. 37.

<sup>5</sup> For *ἐνέπ* in this sense cf. Nachmanson, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII. (1907), p. 70; Guenther, *Indogerman. Forsch.*, XX., p. 157; Ziebarth, *Aus d. gr. Schulwesen*, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> LVII. 71.

<sup>7</sup> I. G., II. 1055 = *Inscr. Jurid. Grecq.*, p. 238.

- (2) Land belonging to the eponymous hero or to any similar temenos, which could also be let.<sup>1</sup> Such land really belonged to the deme.<sup>2</sup>
- (3) Monies lent out at interest.<sup>3</sup>

As for the meaning of οὐσία, there seem to have been no special words in Greek, as in Latin, to distinguish the two kinds of property called in Roman Law *dominium* and *possessio*.<sup>4</sup> Usually we find only the singular οὐσία, but the plural here signifies all the different kinds of property owned by the deme.

Ll. 6-9. ἐπιμελή (θ)η τῶν οὐσιῶν . . . καὶ τὰς ἱεροποιίας.<sup>5</sup> This is an *anacoluthon*.

L. 8. ἱεροποιίας. It is surprising to find here a word hitherto known only from very late authors such as Flavius Josephus,<sup>6</sup> Clement of Alexandria,<sup>7</sup> Hesychius<sup>8</sup> and Porphyry.<sup>9</sup> Most of the larger demes had special ἱεροποιοί, but Halimous apparently had not.

L. 13. στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν. The fact that the value of the crown is mentioned dates the inscription in any case before 303-02 B.C., in which year for the first time a crown κατὰ τὸν νόμον was given.<sup>10</sup>

Ll. 18-20. ἀναγράφαι τὸν δήμαρχον. We know from various inscriptions<sup>11</sup> that the demarch had to publish the decrees passed by the demesmen.

Ll. 20-21. εἰς τὰ κοινὰ γραμματεία. It is generally supposed that the phrase τὸ κοινὸν γραμματεῖον refers to the archives of the phratría as opposed to the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, the archives of the deme.<sup>12</sup> This view seems to be based on a gloss on a passage of Isaeus<sup>13</sup> by Harpo-

<sup>1</sup> I. G., II. 1059 (2); cf. *Inscr. Jurid. Graecq.*, pp. 236 ff., 250.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes, LVII. 78.

<sup>3</sup> I. G., II. 570, 571, 572, 578.

<sup>4</sup> Lipsius, *Att. Recht*, p. 674 (the works of Philippi and Willenbuecher there referred to say nothing about this question); for the terminology see J. H. v. Meurs, *Rechtsgedingen over bepaalde goederen in oud-Helleense rechten*, (Diss.) Utrecht, 1914, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The engraver wrote φ by mistake instead of θ.

<sup>6</sup> *Ant. Jud.*, XIV. 10. 23.

<sup>7</sup> *Strom.*, IV. 22. 140.

<sup>8</sup> s.v.

<sup>9</sup> *De Abstinencia*, II. 18.

<sup>10</sup> I. G., II.<sup>3</sup> 495. See also K. E. W. Schmitthenner, *De coronarum apud Athenienses honoribus* (Berlin, 1891), p. 17 ff.; Larfeld, *Handbuch*, p. 810.

<sup>11</sup> cf. I. G., II. 573. 575. 579.

<sup>12</sup> Haussoullier, *op. cit.* p. 12; Schoemann-Lipsius, I. p. 385; Gilbert, *op. cit.* p. 205; Toepffer, *Hermes*, XXX. pp. 391 ff.; I deal with the same subject in *Mnemosyne*, L. (1922), p. 87 ff. On the ληξ. γρ. see de Sanctis, *Arch.*, p. 336, n. 1; Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Sitz. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin*, XXXVII. (1919), p. 668.

<sup>13</sup> VII. 16, 17.

cration, who says: *κοινὸν γραμματεῖον καὶ ληξιαρχικόν· τὸ μὲν κοινὸν γραμματεῖον ἐστὶν εἰς ὃ ἐνεγράφοντο οἱ ἀγόμενοι εἰς τοὺς φράτορας καὶ γεννήτας, τὸ δὲ ληξιαρχικὸν εἰς ὃ ἐνεγράφοντο οἱ εἰς τοὺς δήμους ἐγγραφόμενοι, ὡς δεικνύουσιν ἄλλοι τε ῥήτορες καὶ Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῇ περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου κλήρου.*

The phrase *κοινὸν γραμματεῖον* is here used to mean the archives of the phratores, and we also find the plural as well as the singular, and even *γραμματεῖον* alone used in the same sense.<sup>1</sup> But Demosthenes' interesting speech <sup>2</sup> *πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην*, which gives us many important details about Attic deme life, shows that the phrase means more than merely the archives of the phratores. We there read (§ 30) that during the archonship of Euboulides' father Antiphilos, *τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἀπώλετο*, but the same fact is also referred to in the words (§ 74), *ἔφη τὸ κοινὸν γραμματεῖον ἀπολωλέναι*, and again (§ 77), *ὅτε ἠφάνισαν τὸ γραμματεῖον*. Because this list of citizens included everyone summoned to the assembly of the deme, the word *γραμματεῖα* in § II, *ὦν κύριος* (sc. ὁ δήμαρχος) *τῶν γραμματείων ἐξ ὧν ἀνεκάλει τοὺς δημότας*, must refer to the deme lists. Aristotle says <sup>3</sup> that all persons on reaching their eighteenth year had to be enrolled on what is generally called *τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, and from Demosthenes' speech just quoted we learn that these lists were also called *κοινὰ γραμματεῖα*; they were written on separate tablets headed by the name of the archon eponymos, and therefore the plural *γραμματεῖα* or more generally *τὸ κοινὸν γραμματεῖον* is used. According to Aristotle,<sup>4</sup> after the reform of the Attic Epheby in ± 338, the names of the epheboi were no longer written on *λελευκωμένα γράμματα*, but *εἰς στήλην χαλκῇν*, but I see no reason for dating this inscription before 338, as I think that the phrase *κοινὰ γραμματεῖα*, has a wider meaning. For this we may also compare a passage of Isaeus,<sup>5</sup> where, unless we interpret *τὸ κοινὸν γραμματεῖον* as the archives of the deme, we miss the point of the speech.<sup>6</sup> Thrasyllus was enrolled in the archives of the phratores during Apollodoros' lifetime, but in those of the deme only

<sup>1</sup> *I. G.*, II. 841b = Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 921.

<sup>2</sup> LVII. (ed. Dindorf).

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, XLII. 1; LIII. 4; cf. Harpocration, s. v. *στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπαινοῖς*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, LIII., 4; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles u. Athen*, I., p. 194; A. Brenot, *Recherches sur l'Éphébie Attique*.

<sup>5</sup> VII. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Wyse *ad loc.*; Mueller, *Untersuchungen z. Gesch. d. alt. Buerger u. Eherechts*, p. 757, is partly right, but the plural means the same as the singular.

after his death, which was illegal. As the speaker wishes to conceal this fact, he uses the term *κοινὸν γραμματεῖον*, which may mean either kind of archives, but would suggest to the audience the archives of the deme in opposition to the *ἀποδεικνύναι* to the *συγγενεῖς*.

Wilhelm points out<sup>1</sup> that the phrase has still another meaning, and one which is most appropriate here—the building where the archives were kept. Sometimes not only the building where *γράμματα* were kept is so called, but also one where they were to be learnt, i. e. the school building, as Suidas tells us.<sup>2</sup> A slight difficulty is presented by the scholiast on Aristophanes,<sup>3</sup> τὰ ληξιαρχικὰ γραμματεῖα παρ' αὐτοῖς (sc. τοῖς δημάρχοις) ἦν, but we may remark that it was not necessary for every deme to have a special building for archives, and also that the demarch might keep them in his own house, as is often done to this day by the πρόεδρος τῆς κοινότητος in a Greek village.<sup>4</sup>

L. 22. στήλει λιθίνει. The use of *ει* for *ηι* is first found in 387 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> and is more general towards the end of the fourth century.<sup>6</sup>

L. 23. ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ. Although it is possible that the deme Halimous had a small theatre of its own, as in the case of some of the smallest demes,<sup>7</sup> it is more likely that Halimous had only a small temple, or more probably temenos, of Dionysos, represented by the ruins found and shown in the plan (Fig. 2). Almost every Attic deme must have had some sanctuary of Dionysos where the so-called festival of the Διονύσια κατ' ἀγροὺς or ἐν ἀγροῖς was celebrated.<sup>8</sup> Of other sanctuaries of Halimous we know (1) a temple of Herakles<sup>9</sup> and (2) a temple of Demeter and Kore.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 254; cf. *I. G.*, II. 603b, with Wilhelm's restoration, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1905, 232, 1061; *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XV. p. 140, 2; Athenaeus, V. 210 f. (=XII. p. 527c), where Poland (*Gesch. Griech. Vereinswesens*, p. 35) has misunderstood the meaning of *γραμματεῖα*.

<sup>2</sup> s.v. *γραμματεῖον*.

<sup>3</sup> *Nubes*, 37; cf. Harpocration and Suidas, s.v. *Δήμαρχος*, and the scholiast on Aeschines, c. *Timarch.*, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Παρὰ may here have the same force as ἐν κέριος τῶν γραμματεῶν, Demosthenes, LVII, 11 (see above).

<sup>5</sup> *I. G.*, II.<sup>2</sup> 29.

<sup>6</sup> cf. Meisterhans, *Grammatik*,<sup>3</sup> p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Kollytos, Demosthenes, *De Corona*, XVIII. 288, 180; Aeschines, c. *Timarch.*, 157.

<sup>8</sup> cf. Nilsson, *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis*, Lund, 1900, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Demosthenes, LVII. 59, 77.

<sup>10</sup> Pausanias, I. 31. 1.

## MYCENAEAN MEGARA AND NORDIC HOUSES.

(PLATE VI.)

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THE results of recent prehistoric excavations in Greece show that there is no evidence to support, still less to prove, the widespread assumption that the round hoop-roofed house is the original type from which all forms of human houses have been evolved.<sup>1</sup> The truth is that there is a greater variety of primitive house types than is usually supposed, and allowance must be made for the possibility that in course of development these exercise reciprocal influence on one another.

Dr. Bulle<sup>2</sup> has pointed out that from the earliest times both rectangular and round huts and houses occur contemporaneously and that both forms are to be found to-day in use among primitive peoples. This is exactly what the archaeological evidence shows for Greece.<sup>3</sup> Neither by stratification, nor by transitional forms does the Greek evidence support the view that in Greece the rectangular house developed from a round hut like those of Orchomenos I. Dr. Mackenzie, to whose paper I would refer,<sup>4</sup> has collected most of the material for this question, and the case has also been clearly stated by Fimmen.<sup>5</sup>

In Greece neolithic houses have been found in Crete, Thessaly and at Orchomenos. In Crete, as stated by Dr. Mackenzie,<sup>6</sup> the known huts of the Neolithic and Early Minoan strata are rectangular, though

<sup>1</sup> This assumption underlies most of what has recently been written about primitive houses, cf. Prof. Fiechter's article *Haus* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, or Prof. Pfuhl's remarks, *Alt. Mitt.* 1905, pp. 331 ff., and also those of Montelius in *Antikvarisk Tidskrift*, xxi. pp. 1 ff., and Dr. Bulle in *Orchomenos I.* (*Abhand. d. Muench. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1907), p. 36 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 3 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, pp. 39 ff.; cf. Pfuhl's *Vorgriechische und griechische Haustypen* (*Festgabe für H. Blümner*, Zurich, 1914), p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 343 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 39 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *L.c.* pp. 358, 360, 408.



in the Early Minoan Period both rectangular ossuaries and circular tholos tombs appear contemporaneously. In Thessaly we have the foundations of developed rectangular houses of crude brick in the First (Neolithic) Period.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing in the material at present available to prove or hint that such houses originated in round huts, which very likely may have been coexistent with them.<sup>2</sup>

In neolithic Orchomenos we have the well-known round huts of crude brick.<sup>3</sup> Among the excavated walls of this stratum there is one straight wall,<sup>4</sup> but no traces of walls which indicate a tendency towards an oval house or the horseshoe-shaped house of Orchomenos II. The round huts at Orchomenos, a definite and rather advanced type, are characterised by the pottery of the First Thessalian Period (A 3β and A 5γ).<sup>5</sup> They are also contemporaneous with the well-developed rectangular houses of Thessaly, which in the First Neolithic Period had already reached a stage of evolution with two or more rooms.<sup>6</sup>

To sum up, the neolithic material shows that well-developed round huts and equally advanced rectangular houses were contemporaneous in Greece.

In Central and Southern Greece (except Orchomenos) our knowledge begins with the settlements of the Early Helladic Period at the opening of the Bronze Age. At Orchomenos this village is the second stratum,<sup>7</sup> where according to Bulle's restorations of the plans we meet a new type, a horseshoe-shaped house with one curved and one straight end. No true oval houses or transitional forms from the round huts exist, as the Orchomenos plans show, and Bulle's restorations of the plans are based on probabilities and not on certainties.<sup>8</sup> This new type of house and the coincident appearance of a new kind of pottery (Early Helladic) and other circumstances<sup>9</sup> seem to Dr. Bulle to indicate that the second stratum of Orchomenos was a new settlement after a short period of desertion. Neither from the stratification nor from the actual remains

<sup>1</sup> At Tsangli, Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 115; at Sesklo, *ibid.* p. 63 (especially house No. 38); cf. also *ibid.* p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> In Crete the tholos tomb and perhaps the hut vases possibly prove this, see Fimmen, *op. cit.* p. 41. For Thessaly see Wace-Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. 64, 74, 217.

<sup>3</sup> Bulle, *Orchomenos*, I., p. 21, Pls. II., IV., V., VI., IX.-XI.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Wace-Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 194.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 63, Sesklo.

<sup>7</sup> Bulle, *op. cit.* pp. 25 ff., Pls. II., IV., V., XIV., XV.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 34.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25.

of houses can an unbroken development be discerned. Early Helladic houses are known at Tiryns and have lately been found at Zygouries near Kleonai by the American School, where the foundations are all rectangular.<sup>1</sup> In the Early Helladic stratum of Tiryns there are straight and curved walls and above them the walls of the great circular building.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the Early Helladic material shows rectangular houses with evidence also for round or curved structures. It is to be noticed that in the whole of Greece only two really oval houses are so far known, that of Reni in Thessaly<sup>3</sup> and the well known house at Chamaizi in Crete.<sup>4</sup> All the other so-called oval houses, of which the plans are clear, have, so far as I know, one straight side. Now the Reni and the Chamaizi houses both seem to belong to a later age than the horseshoe-shaped houses mentioned, or at best to the end of the period in which the latter fall. The Reni house belongs to the top stratum of a mound where Minyan ware has been found and the Chamaizi house is clearly Middle Minoan I.

These considerations are of some interest in connexion with the Megaron type, the rectangular house of the heroic age, with a central hearth, a door at one end and an *anta* porch with or without columns. The Megaron type occurs in Troy II. almost contemporaneously with the horseshoe houses of Orchomenos II., then in Thessaly, and later with a plan showing strong Minoan influence at Mycenae, Tiryns and elsewhere. It is of course a rather natural assumption that the Megaron should have developed from the round hut with its central hearth via the oval and then the horseshoe-shaped houses. Italian hut vases might furnish transitional stages.<sup>5</sup> I shall return later to the question whether the Greek horseshoe house has necessarily anything to do with the oval house. We must first observe the order in which horseshoe house, Megaron and oval house occur in the stratification of Greek sites. The round house of Tiryns is built over curved walls, and in Orchomenos the third stratum, which comes next above that of the horseshoe houses,

<sup>1</sup> J.H.S. 1921, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Karo, *Führer d. d. Ruinen v. Tiryns*, p. 7; cf. Fimmen, *op. cit.* p. 43, especially as regards the great circular building built above curved walls, *ibid.* pp. 40, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Wace-Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> B.S.A. xiv. pp. 417 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, ii. Pl. CXL.; Id. *Die vorklassische Chronologie Italiens*, Pls. XIX., XXVI. Cf. Professor M. P. Nilsson's suggestions, *Den stora folkvandringen i andra årtusendet f. Kr. in Ymer*, xxxii. (1912), pp. 221 ff.

does not seem to have any Megaron.<sup>1</sup> The main point for investigation is whether the position of the hearth and door in Greek and other oval houses proves that the oval house is a transitional stage between the round house and the rectangular house with a central hearth, a door at one end and a columnar porch. If this were so a door at one end and a clearly marked central hearth should be also essential features of the oval house. In the Italian hut vases the door is really in this position at one end; but the Greek remains do not show the same arrangement. The door of the Chamaizi house is in one of the long sides. The walls of the Reni house have two gaps, one in one of the long sides and the other at one end. It is thus impossible to tell the exact position of the door; very probably it was in the long side. That this arrangement is by no means impossible in an oval house is clearly seen in the Nordic hut vases of the Bronze Age and in the foundations of an oval hut of the same date in Sweden. These monuments, in contrast to the Italian, show us the door in the long side of an oval house.<sup>2</sup>

The pre-Mycenaean horseshoe houses, if indeed they have any connexion with the oval houses, give no evidence for the position of the door,<sup>3</sup> nor any background to the porch of the Megaron. The fixed central hearth of the Megaron seems to have no definite prototype in the known pre-Mycenaean oval or horseshoe houses.<sup>4</sup>

It is also quite clear that the Greek evidence, neither by stratification nor by the construction of the houses, supports the view that the oval house and the horseshoe house represent a transitional type between the round hut and the rectangular house with a central hearth and a door in the middle of one end. The Italian material may suggest such an evolution, but this of course cannot claim any universal force, espec-

<sup>1</sup> Bulle, *op. cit.* p. 57, Pls. II., III., XX.

<sup>2</sup> A very interesting survey is given by Dr. B. Thordeman in *Förhistoriska hustyper i Norden* (*Studier tillägnade Oscar Almgren*, 1919, *Rig.* ii., iii. pp. 269 ff.). A fine series of Swedish and German hut vases is given by Stephani, *Der älteste deutsche Wohnbau*, I, pp. 14 ff.; cf. Schultz, *Das Germanische Haus*, pp. 58 ff. The oval Bronze Age foundations mentioned were found in 1906 by Professor O. Almgren at Boda (Upland, Sweden), *Fornvännen*, vii. (1912) pp. 132 ff. The remains show that the walls were of wattle and daub; the door was on the long side facing south. They are the ruins of a house like the hut vase shown in Fig. 1a. For the late Iron Age oval house of Augerum (Pl. VI. 6) (Blekinge, Sweden), see below, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Rachmani houses, Wace-Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. 39 ff., see also Bulle, *op. cit.* pp. 34 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Rachmani houses, Wace-Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. 37 ff.

ially since the Nordic evidence (see p. 168) shows us an oval house with a door in one side and a development towards a rectangular house with the door in the same position (Fig. 3).

The two really oval houses and the rectangular huts of Orchomenos III. brought us as far as the Middle Helladic Period (= M. M.II.) and the mainland settlements with matt-painted and Minyan pottery. We may close our survey of the Greek evidence at this point, for we have considered all the main prehistoric Greek house types, *e. g.*, the rectangular



FIG. 1.—HUT VASES FROM (a) STORA HAMMAR (SKÅNE); (b) FÅLLE (SMÅLAND).

and round neolithic huts, the horseshoe house, the Megaron and the real oval house.

Dr. Fimmen assumes with great probability that the rectangular and the round hut are possibly independent primitive types. To him the oval house is an evolution of the round hut; the horseshoe-shaped house a mixed form between the rectangular and the round hut. We must begin with the fact that in Greece not only the rectangular and the round hut, but also the Megaron, the horseshoe house and the oval house all seem to be independent types with no definite signs of the derivation of one from another. This raises the more general question whether the usual assumption of a development in type from round to oval, from oval to rectangular huts can really claim universal force.

Must we postulate that the rectangular neolithic huts, the Megaron and so on are developed from round huts? The material of the hypothetical prototypes would naturally have been perishable, and of course we see nothing of this evolution going on in the developed huts of pre-historic Greece. But we may ask, Do the pre-Mycenaean houses give any proof for such a regular development, the successive stages of which, in spite of the advance in building technique, are represented by the different types described above? That at Orchomenos the horseshoe hut follows the round hut need not be more than an accident, as there is a clear break between Orchomenos I. and II., and we have rectangular houses in Orchomenos II. and in Thessaly and so on: but it is admittedly tempting to take this sequence of round and horseshoe hut as an apt illustration of this hypothetical development of house types. The real question is, however, whether the assumption with its general claims can be upheld; and this, as Dr. Fimmen and others state, does not seem to be the case. A general law of development from a round to a square hut can by no means be proved, and, as far as I can see, it is wholly unnecessary to assume it.

In order to formulate an answer to this general question, it might be useful to examine the results of recent research into the origins of obviously primitive types in perishable material and the light thus thrown on simple and natural attempts to construct a more or less temporary hut. The next step will be to see how far these primitive huts tend to evolve into a more permanent house. The following considerations are offered as a contribution to the elucidation of this problem and to point out two proved lines of development.

Dr. Mackenzie<sup>1</sup> has drawn attention to the 'Nordic House' of a Megaron type, with central hearth and a door and porch at one end, built like a log cabin with horizontal timbers. We will summarise recent researches about this 'Nordic Megaron' and try to ascertain its position in the history of Swedish house-building.<sup>2</sup> In considering the Nordic House we should first look at the fine series of Swedish and German hut vases published by Stephani.<sup>3</sup> In regard to countries with a northern or central European climate we should recall Tacitus' remarks on the dwellings of the Germani.<sup>4</sup> He mentions developed houses, in

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 398 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Thordeman's survey mentioned above, p. 164, note.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 164, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Germania*, 16.

addition to *subterranei specus*, which were the *suffugium hiemis*. This gives us an idea of primitive conditions of life before the Nordic peoples had learnt to build solid timber houses. They used both caves or rough underground winter shelters and simple structures such as tents, wattle huts, huts with walls of vertical staves or similar more or less temporary dwellings.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare with Tacitus' remarks the observations of a Finnish explorer,<sup>2</sup> in the nineteenth century, about certain tribes of western Siberia who had not yet learnt to build timber houses of the Russian type. Their permanent dwellings were covered with earth, but at the same time they used tents made of bark as



FIG. 2.—CURVED SCREEN FROM NORTH-EASTERN RUSSIA.

well as temporary structures of logs (compare the rectangular screens mentioned below).

The first Swedish evidence for dwellings other than subterranean consists of curved foundations of neolithic date, especially round huts—a type which all accept as primary. This may have originated in a primitive tent which was developed by being translated into a more solid material, or in a single screen against rain and wind, which by the addition of others gradually evolved into a complete hut (Fig. 2). Up to the present we have no evidence for rectangular huts in the Neolithic Age in Sweden. Dr. S. Lindquist has excavated remains of a neolithic site

<sup>1</sup> Compare the rectangular and round huts of the Marcomanni on the column of M. Aurelius at Rome, where buildings with vertical staves are well illustrated.

<sup>2</sup> Castrén; see *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, ix. (1909) p. 60.

in Åloppe (Upland, Sweden),<sup>1</sup> where he found round huts of wattle and daub strengthened by almost vertical posts. The roof did not bond with the wall and the hearth was not in the centre, but on one side towards the door. The hut vase shown in Fig. 1*b* gives us an idea of the appearance of such a hut.

Next in the Bronze Age (1900–500 B.C.) come oval houses with a door in one long side (see p. 165), which are well illustrated by Fig. 1*a* and German hut vases (Fig. 3). Thus in the Nordic Bronze Age there was really, according to the evidence of the hut vases, a development from an oval to a rectangular house (compare the Koenigsau hut vase, Fig. 3*b*). The position of the door in one long side and other features, which are

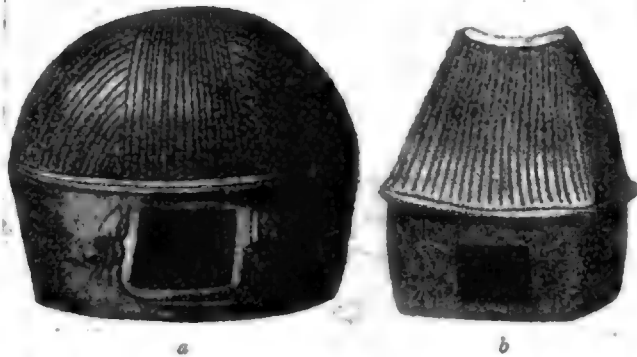


FIG. 3.—HUT VASES FROM (a) LUGGENDORF; (b) KOENIGSAUE.

common to both types, seem to indicate some connexion between them. They, however, may have been influenced by developed rectangular huts, for there may have been more or less primitive rectangular structures (like those mentioned below, p. 170) in the Nordic districts, though, as they were of perishable materials, no trace of any such has yet been found. Further, as far north as Bavaria (Schussenried), for instance, we have excellent examples of developed rectangular neolithic huts (Fig. 4), with walls of vertical staves. Thus, although it seems probable that rectangular buildings exercised some influence, yet in spite of this the Nordic hut vases really show a true series with clear connexions, just like the Italian hut vases, the types of which are otherwise quite different: so this Nordic series may serve to show that, in one case at

<sup>1</sup> *Fornvuden*, 1916, pp. 194 ff.

least, the round hut really did develop through an oval into a rectangular house.<sup>1</sup>

I refer to these, the oldest known Nordic houses, partly because I wish to point out an interesting development of the round hut, but mainly for the sake of the 'Nordic House' which interested Dr. Mac-

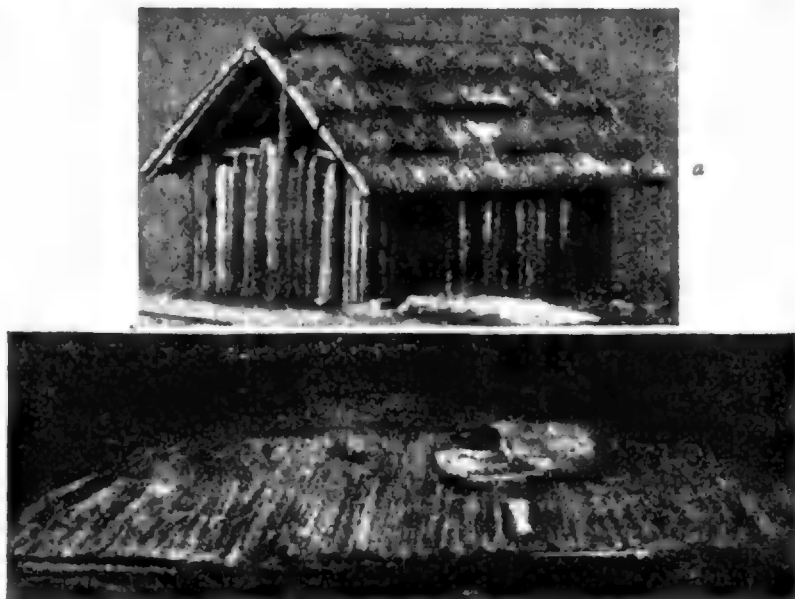


FIG. 4.—STONE AGE HUT AT SCHUSSENRIED: (a) RECONSTRUCTION;  
(b) FOUNDATIONS.

kenzie. This Nordic timber-built Megaron in Sweden only occurs in the later Iron Age.<sup>2</sup> In East Germany it appears in the late Bronze

<sup>1</sup> *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, vi. (1906) pp. 74 ff. In pent roof structures where the roof has no gables and rises directly from the foundations or low walls, variations between round huts, rectangular huts, and rectangular huts with curved corners are quite natural. Cf. Pl. VI. 3, and the interesting suggestions of Dr. Aberg, *Mannus*, xiii. p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Mackenzie's suggestions about the early date of the Nordic Megaron and subsequent conclusions are incorrect, *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 349 ff. Very possibly simple rectangular wooden huts may have existed in Sweden from the earliest times contemporaneously with subterranean winter dwellings and round or oval houses which are clearly a highly developed type. But these hypothetical prototypes may have been the natural outcome of what nature and material required—all traces of developed rectangular house types are wanting in the Nordic evidence. Graves, as correctly pointed out by Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, p. 335, cannot be supposed to prove the existence of early rectangular Nordic buildings of an imported type, and there is certainly no connexion at all with the Iron Age when the 'Nordic House' is first found in Sweden.



Age (Buch, Brandenburg) as a primitive 'log cabin' (Pl. VI. 1).<sup>1</sup> In Sweden it occurs as a typical 'log cabin' house, and its developed form was probably influenced by analogous habitations in the pine districts of East and Central Europe.<sup>2</sup> To sum up, the present evidence does not allow us to trace the ancestry of the Nordic house of a Megaron type back into the Swedish Bronze Age. So far as we yet know, it was not a house type which had undergone successive improvements derived from practical experience over a long period of years, although it must be admitted that rectangular structures with a pent roof placed directly on the foundations<sup>3</sup> (*Walmdach*) or primitive rectangular huts of tree trunks (like those mentioned below) may have existed in Sweden as well as in other forest countries from the earliest times.

It is impossible to-day to attempt to fix the exact time when the Nordic 'log cabin' Megaron grew into the hall of the Swedish Iron Age.<sup>4</sup> The Iron Age began in Sweden about 500 B.C. and shows, to judge by the tools and weapons, a very remarkable decline. In the time of Tacitus there was a powerful and wealthy kingdom in Svealand.<sup>5</sup> In the Roman Iron Age (from about 1 A.D. onwards) there occurs a new type of house, the so-called *Hjältegrävar*, Tombs of Heroes (Pl. VI. 3), large rectangular halls, the plans of which are to be traced in their thick stone foundations, sometimes with slightly curved corners, sometimes with a porch like a Megaron.<sup>6</sup> As pointed out by Montelius and Dr. Åberg, some of these houses, especially those with curved corners, must have had a pent roof (*Walmdach*) rising directly from the stone foundations.<sup>7</sup> In some cases the presence of fragments of carbonised timber shows that they had some kind of walls built of logs.<sup>8</sup> In this series representing the evolution of the Nordic house in the Iron Age the Megaron of the Viking Age in Sweden falls into place as a developed house type with an easily recognisable ancestry. These log cabin constructions (with walls of

<sup>1</sup> Thordeman, *op. cit.* p. 275; Schultz, *Das germanische Haus*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. S. Erixon's excellent monograph on the 'Nordic House,' *Falaburen*, 1917, pp. 145 ff., especially p. 149; cf. Sirelius, *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, ix. (1909) pp. 63 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 169, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Thordeman, *op. cit.* pp. 273 ff.; Åberg, *Mannus*, xiii. p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> *Germania*, 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Månadsblad*, 1886, p. 146, 1888, pp. 50, 109, 129.

<sup>7</sup> *Archiv. f. Anthropologia*, xxiii. (1895) pp. 455 ff.; *Mannus*, xiii. pp. 104 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Montelius, *op. cit.* p. 455; Thordeman, *op. cit.* pp. 274 ff.

horizontal baulks) which are related to the Bronze Age house at Buch, in large tracts of the country take the place of huts with walls of vertical staves and other older and primitive structures. With the appearance of these well-built log cabin houses the dualism referred to by Tacitus,

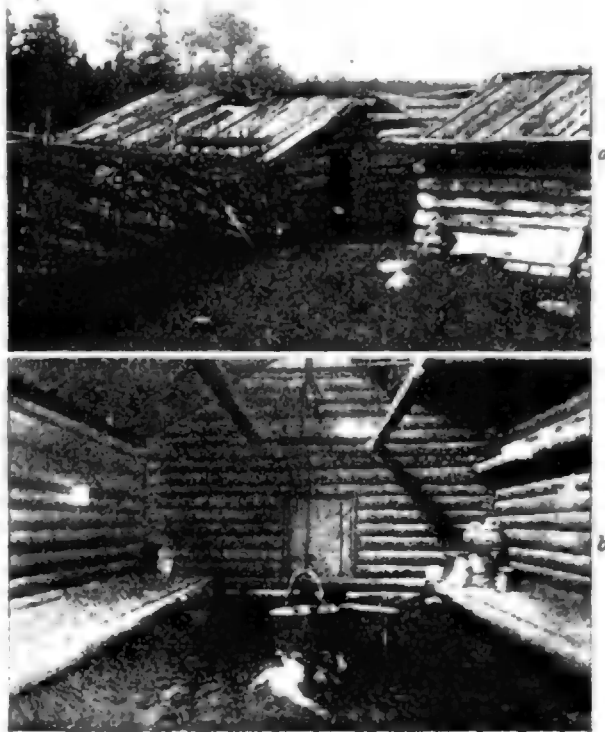


FIG. 5.—SWEDISH LOG CABIN, CENTRAL-HEARTH HOUSE. (a) EXTERIOR (x) AT SUMMER VILLAGE IN SÄRNA; (b) INTERIOR AT ALFDALLEN (DALECARLIA).

that is to say the need for summer houses and winter subterranean dwellings, obviously vanished. The foundations of an interesting house with a central hearth have been excavated by Professor Almgren in Upland (Sweden) (Pl. VI. 5).<sup>1</sup> The post-holes against the south wall clearly formed part of a sort of throne and this Iron Age house, taken as a whole, presents a curious analogy to the Bronze Age Megaron of Tiryns with

<sup>1</sup> *Uplands Fornminnes förenings tidskrift*, vi. (1910-12) p. 343; Thordeman, *op. cit.* p. 277.

its throne and hearth surrounded by four columns. This Nordic Megaron still survives to-day, as mentioned by Dr. Mackenzie, in some summer villages of North Sweden (Dalecarlia) (Fig. 5; Pl. VI. 2), where there exist simple timber huts of a log cabin type with all the main characteristics of the Megaron—a central hearth, a door and porch at one end and a gable roof. Here we must consider the interesting house at Augerum (Blekinge, Sweden) (Pl. VI. 6). The columns in front of it and the central hearth, immediately call to mind the Megaron type and some hut vases of the Italian Bronze Age. At first sight it might seem to be a transitional form between the round house and the Megaron type, but the Augerum house dates from the very end of the Viking Age, that is to say, a mediaeval period when the Megaron type was in vogue in Sweden.<sup>1</sup> It is thus more likely to have been influenced by the Megaron type than to have exerted influence on it. On the one hand it is in clear contrast to the continuous development shown by the series of Nordic oval houses of the Bronze Age with the door in one long side. On the other hand, the Nordic Megaron appears in Germany in the Late Bronze Age as a log cabin house, and as such it first occurs in Sweden in the Iron Age. Although it is tempting to compare it with the Italian hut vases, which are some 2000 years older, it must be remembered that the Augerum house, as reconstructed, represents a quite unparalleled Iron Age type and has no kinship either with the oval houses of the Swedish Bronze Age or with the rectangular houses of the Iron Age. As just suggested in its details, it is most probably influenced by the ordinary contemporaneous house type, the Nordic Megaron.

According to the present evidence from Scandinavia the early history of the Nordic House is clear: it appears as a developed log cabin house in the Later Iron Age in strong contrast to the oval houses of the Bronze Age with their walls of wattle or vertical staves.

Our next task then is to inquire into the possible origin of this rectangular Nordic house with a central hearth, which was typical of the Viking Age and is typical of modern Swedish summer villages, and at the same time recalls the Mycenaean Megaron, the Buch house of the Late Bronze Age in Germany and perhaps, too, the Doric temple.<sup>2</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thordeman, *op. cit.* p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Holland, *A.J.A.* 1920, pp. 323 ff.; Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb.* 1919, p. 95, note 2, 'Der archaisch-griechische Tempel ist ein junges Reis aus demselben Stamm aus dem ein halber Jahrtausend früher das mykenische Megaron abzweigte.'

before finally leaving the subject of houses with curved walls, it is necessary to consider the question of the horseshoe-shaped houses.

Dr. Fimmen assumes <sup>1</sup> that the Greek horseshoe-shaped house is a combination of the rectangular and the round house types, which coexisted in Greece from neolithic times—a perfectly possible view. But the horseshoe-shaped house may also have originated in the neolithic horseshoe-shaped huts which are obviously a primary type. This primary hut type is very often overlooked, but is clearly an independent and primitive form of house. The best examples so far known are four neolithic huts at Klein Meinsdorf in Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>2</sup> As shown in Pl. VI. 4, the foundations are horseshoe-shaped with one side open. On this side in front of the house was the main fireplace. The whole arrangement was consequently that of a cave-like screen reflecting the warmth from the fire in front of it and protecting the dwellers from wind and rain. The roof in all probability was a pent roof, and the stone foundations, which are seen in the unpaved huts A, C, D, may have been for supporting posts. In a house like this, as in the rectangular screens to be described below, the first care must have been to find a means of protecting the fire from wind and rain, especially in any weather which would drive the smoke into the hut. By the development of a simple 'Firescreen' with the object of protecting the hearth from weather, a primitive horseshoe hut could be evolved similar in principle to those of Orchomenos II., if the latter are correctly restored. It is also by no means *a priori* certain that the Greek horseshoe house, which occurs quite independently in the Early Bronze Age in Orchomenos II., has any relationship to the round and rectangular huts or to the later true oval houses of Greece. It may be equally due to an intrusion by folk who had used and improved neolithic huts like those of Klein Meinsdorf. It is obvious that a genuine oval house can be produced by an elongation of the round hut, or by a duplication of horseshoe huts, one being placed on each side of the fire on the same principle as the rectangular screens (Fig. 13a, b). The presence of the door in one long side of the Nordic oval houses readily suggests this.

The horseshoe-shaped 'Firescreen' of neolithic times, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Mitt. d. anthrop. Vereins in Schleswig-Holstein*, xviii. (1907) pp. 3 ff.; Thordeman, *op. cit.* p. 270; Schultz, *op. cit.* p. 77.

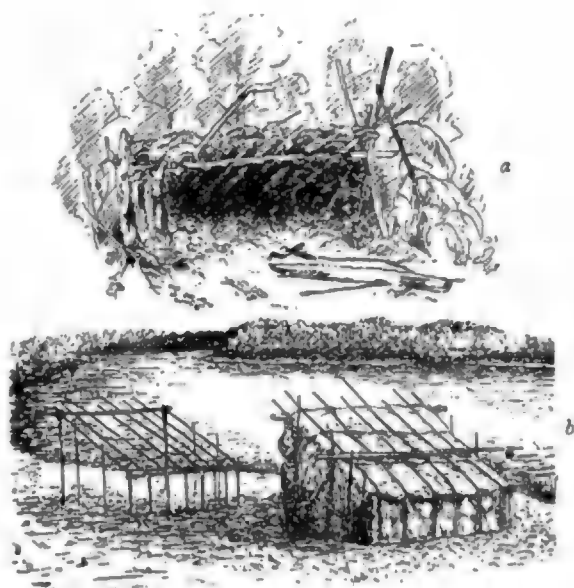
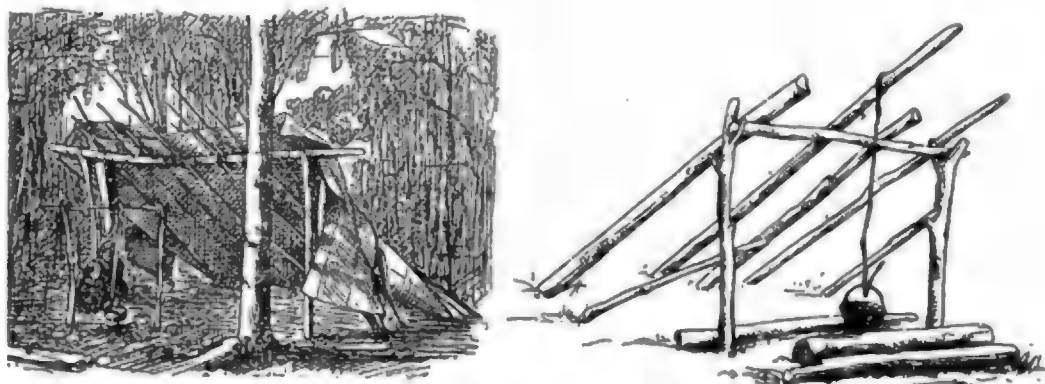


FIG. 6.—SCREENS FROM (a) FINLAND; (b) WESTERN SIBERIA.



FIGS. 7, 8.—SCREENS FROM WESTERN SIBERIA (7); NORTH-EASTERN RUSSIA (8).



FIG. 9.—SCREEN FROM EASTERN RUSSIA.



FIG. 10.—SCREENS FROM KARELIA.

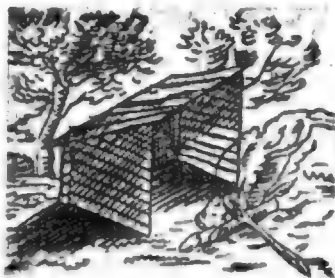


FIG. 11.—SCREEN IN ALFDALEN (DALECARLIA).  
(From an 18th Century Drawing.)

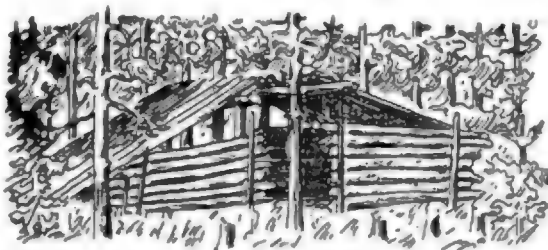


FIG. 12.—TWO TIMBER SCREENS JOINED, KARELIA.

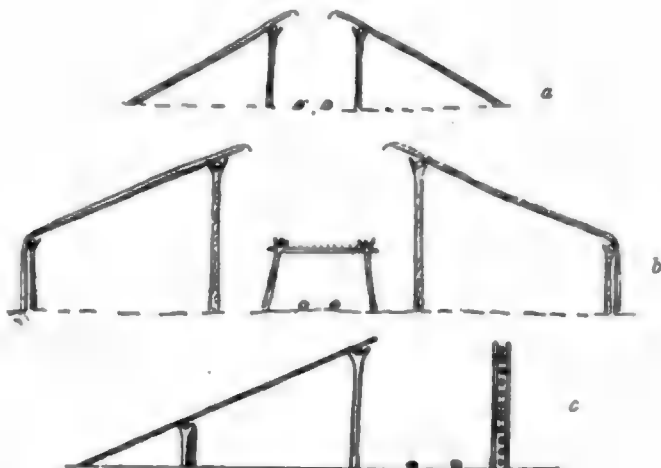


FIG. 13.—a, b. SCREENS JOINED, WESTERN SIBERIA.  
c. SCREEN AND 'FIRESCREEN,' NORTH-EASTERN RUSSIA.

calls to mind the many types of Finnish and Russian rectangular screens and their combinations, which have been carefully studied by Dr. U. T. Sirelius.<sup>1</sup> Such 'Firescreens' and huts are to-day renewed and retained for temporary habitation as a natural consequence of what life in the woods and the available material suggest and require, and may have suggested at any period of primitive life in the woods of Europe. A study of these primitive structures is of importance because they show

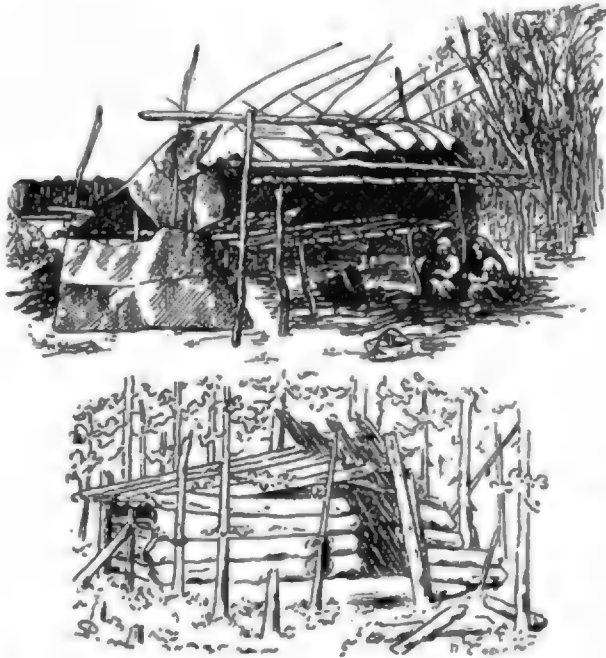


FIG. 14.—a. SCREEN WITH ROOF OVER FIRE, WESTERN SIBERIA;  
b. TIMBER SCREEN WITH 'FIRESCREEN,' KARELIA.

how rectangular huts with a central hearth and a central door at one end—to say nothing of other types of rectangular huts—can arise and have actually arisen from primitive rectangular screens without any connexion with tents or curved walls.

Dr. Sirelius surveys at length the more or less temporary dwellings of hunters and peasants in Finland and the regions adjoining it on the

<sup>1</sup> *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, viii. (1908) pp. 8 ff., ix. (1909) pp. 17 ff., xi. (1911), pp. 23 ff. Compare the same author's monumental work, *Suomen kansanomaista kulttuuria*, ii. pp. 141 ff.



east. The following is a summary of his principal points. Fig. 7 shows a birch bark screen at a fishing station near Vas-Jugan in Western Siberia. It reflects the fire in front of it and is of a very usual and natural type, the structure of which is further explained by Figs. 6a and 8. In a dwelling like this the occupants sleep with their feet against the fire



FIGS. 15, 16.—TIMBER HUTS IN WESTERN SIBERIA.

and their heads against the screen. The next stage is the formation of a real, though low, back wall (Fig. 6b). To avoid draughts from right and left and to retain the heat the screen is often completed by side walls (Figs. 6b, 9, 10). The last three examples illustrate timber screens which, though more or less primitive in construction, are materially of a less temporary character. Such screens will be found in many districts of Northern Europe. The peasants of Northern Sweden, for instance, use them to-day at harvest time in far outlying fields, and

their modern screens can be illustrated, albeit schematically, by a Swedish drawing of the eighteenth century (Fig. 11).<sup>1</sup>

As every one knows who has passed a night in such a dwelling, there are two main problems: first to obtain sufficient room, and secondly to get rid of the smoke, if the wind blows towards the screen. Dr. Sirelius points out different solutions adopted by different eastern tribes. The two main solutions are: (A) two screens can be put up with the fire between



FIG. 17.—RIDGE AND ROOF POLES OF THE HUT ON PL. VI. 2.

them (Figs. 12, 13*a*, *b*); or (B) a straight wall is built up behind the fire (Fig. 13*c*).

As a result of repeated attempts to protect the fire from rain, for example by a projecting roof as seen in the simple screen, Fig. 14*a*, these shelters tend to grow together round the fire and form primitive rectan-

<sup>1</sup> The novelist K. E. Forslund has collected much modern Swedish material in his description of the parishes and towns of Dalecarlia, *Med Dalälven från källorna till havet*, i. p. 11, ii. pp. 14, 102. These timber screens in connexion with the more elementary birch bark screens are to be compared with the primitive tents of the Lapps and their rectangular tent-like timber huts with pyramidal roofs mentioned by Montelius, *Antikvarisk tidskrift*, xxi. 1, p. 86.

gular huts (Fig. 14*b*). This natural tendency can be observed in screens of more perishable material, such as birch bark, as well as in the more durable structures of timber. To begin with type *B*, the evolution is clearly illustrated by the log huts of Figs. 15, 16. From the screen and the straight wall is evolved a rectangular hut with an eccentric door and a hearth by the higher (or straight) wall (on the right in Figs. 14*b*, 15, 16).

From type *A* (see especially Fig. 12) is developed a rectangular hut with a central hearth, a door at one end under the peak of the gable and a roof sloping from the centre to either side—in short, with all the supposed characteristics of a Megaron in embryo.<sup>1</sup> It is characteristic of type *A* that the two inclines of the roof do not join at the ridge. They are carried up by the poles of the two original screens (Figs. 12, 13*b*) and leave in the ridge an irregular interspace of varying width for the smoke. Roofs of this kind often occur in the 'Nordic House' of Swedish summer villages mentioned above (Fig. 17). A later development is that a definite opening for the smoke is made and the two inclines of the roof close together in a ridge.<sup>2</sup> Finally we should note that Dr. Sirelius' many examples are drawn from the dwellings of unsophisticated folk in remote districts living under primitive conditions. Very perishable materials are used in building both types *A* and *B*. Some of the shelters are from districts where timber houses were not known in the nineteenth century, where temporary dwellings such as tents and screens were used in summer and earth-covered huts in the winter.<sup>3</sup> These circumstances, as well as the *raison d'être* and the construction of the screens, show that the genesis of any such huts may occur in any age. It must be admitted that there may have been accidental developments more or less analogous to the two here described, and that such house types may also have been evolved from totally different rectangular prototypes (Fig. 18).

<sup>1</sup> For the conjunction of the different parts (see Figs. 12, 13*b*) compare the various stages of development by which two huts are ultimately united as seen in Fig. 5*a*; cf. *Fataburen*, 1917, pp. 165 ff. and Forslund, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 67, 81.

<sup>2</sup> In discussing the beginning of a possible evolution to a rectangular hut the modern Swedish material has been deliberately avoided and Fig. 17 is given only as an illustration of a roof type without claiming anything about its origin. The whole question in Sweden is rather complicated, because of the highly developed Iron Age Megaron, which already occurs in the Viking Age and is capable of either improvement or degeneration. Further research is necessary, cf. Erixon, *op. cit.* pp. 185, 189. The material used by Dr. Sirelius is quite different.

<sup>3</sup> *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, ix. (1909) pp. 59 ff.

The evidence quoted suffices: it shows clearly how elementary rectangular huts with either a central hearth or a hearth against one wall, with either an eccentric door or a door at one end under the peak of the gable, can arise from straight screens and subsequent attempts to protect the fire in front of or between the screens. It is quite clear that wherever hunters or other wanderers use branches or birch bark to shelter their temporary resting-place by a fire, screens of this type can have been constructed (and will always be constructed) as well as curved screens or a tent.

It is obvious that varying types arise according to the varying conditions of life and the material available. Each house type then, as it improves in construction and plan, will influence other types in other



FIG. 18.—RECTANGULAR SCREEN, KARELIA.

regions or even similar types which are in a lower stage of development or evolving independently.

The development of type *A* (Fig. 12) is of special interest in connection with the Megaron. It cannot of course be demonstrated, but it is clearly possible that primary structures of this kind can indeed be the ancestors of the similar rectangular houses with a central hearth and a door in the middle of one end under the peak of the gable, which we find in the Megara of Troy, Tiryns and Mycenae, in the late Bronze Age houses at Buch (Pl. VI. 1), in the Homeric house, in a modified form in the Greek temple, in the Nordic halls of the Iron Age and the Scandinavian summer houses of to-day. They can all be similar or kindred developments of the same elementary dwellings of the European forests.

In discussing origins we have so far omitted to refer to the type shown in Pl. VI. 2, Figs. 5, 19, modern Swedish summer houses of a Megaron type

with a porch formed by antae on either side of the door. Dr. Erixon, who has written a monograph on the Nordic peasant house,<sup>1</sup> points out that in a house built log cabin fashion with horizontal timbers an anta porch comes into being automatically. The projecting ends, even if irregular, of the logs of the long walls, which as technical methods improve are interlocked with the logs of the short walls, form natural antae as seen in Fig. 19 and carry the roof which protects the door.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Erixon thus suggests<sup>3</sup> that the 'Anta House,' the Megaron, is in origin a 'log cabin' house. Simple log cabins are known in neolithic times in Switzerland (cf. Fig. 18),<sup>4</sup> and a more developed type in the Italian *terramare* about



FIG. 19.—SWEDISH CENTRAL-HEARTH, LOG CABIN HOUSE, ALFDALEN (DALECARLIA).

1500 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> while in the Late Bronze Age we have the Buch houses. The construction was somewhat like that seen in Figs. 9, 10. The timbers were fastened to the vertical posts with wattles<sup>6</sup> and the ends of the beams formed a developed cross. Now, on the other hand, the Megara of Troy II. are (as far as we know) the oldest yet discovered, *circa* 2000 B.C. Thus it may not be impossible, as Dr. Erixon suggests, that the Trojan Megara, though older than the earliest known developed structures of timber

<sup>1</sup> *Fataburen*, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> The projecting gable, the object of which is quite clear, is often carried only by posts, as in the house mentioned by Dr. Mackenzie, *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 402, Fig. 17; cf. *Fataburen*, 1917, pp. 172, 180.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 151. <sup>4</sup> Sirelius, *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, ix. (1909) p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie*, i. Pls. XII. 3 : XIII. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Thordeman, *op. cit.* p. 275; Schultz, *Das germanische Haus*, p. 104.

and built of other materials, are descended from the log cabin type of house. Timber Megara of course arose in the pine forests of Europe, where the climate and the materials to hand favoured such a development from more primitive elements. Eastern Europe in general, and Russia in particular, are *par excellence* the natural home of timber structures, as in the days of the wooden city of Gelonos, where, according to Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> city walls, Greek temples and houses were all of timber. This is the converse—a translation of stone buildings into wooden—of what we have just suggested about the Megaron: which is a log cabin house from the pine forests of Europe reproduced, according to the available material under the influences of different stages of civilisation, as a pre-Mycenaean or Mycenaean house in rubble, or as a Greek temple in stone. On the other hand, the Nordic Megaron of the Viking Age represents, many hundred years later, another offspring of the same timber structures, such as would grow up naturally anywhere in the European forests. The Buch houses may represent one example that has survived out of a large number, while the rectangular screens form the raw material that exists almost anywhere, but in some districts develops according to special circumstances. This is only a suggestion, but one which is in keeping with what nature herself suggests, and will probably always suggest in the districts where we find at very different periods and stages of civilisation a rectangular house with a central hearth.

Finally, we may sum up the results of our examination of the Greek and Nordic evidence as follows. The former shows that from neolithic times rectangular and curved structures were in use contemporaneously, but with no transitional forms to indicate any development from round to rectangular huts. Such a development seems indeed to be shown by the Nordic hut vases, though they were probably influenced by rectangular huts which existed in Europe in neolithic times. But to assume that such a development is constant is quite out of place. The evidence of primitive European dwellings shows, beside round tents or huts and pent roof structures, horseshoe screens with a fire in front of them (Klein Meinsdorf), and rectangular screens with their various possibilities of development centring on the fire. Anywhere in Europe climate and material can thus suggest a beginning which leads to a round hut, a

<sup>1</sup> iv. 108.

horseshoe-shaped hut or a rectangular hut with a central (or eccentric) hearth and door at one end. Neither a central hearth in a rectangular hut nor a door at one end under the peak of the gable proves that such a type of house is derived from a round hut. A rectangular house with a central hearth can be just as elementary as a round or horse-shoe-shaped neolithic hut, and of entirely independent origin.

C. A. BOËTHIUS.

## EXCAVATIONS AT MYCENAE.

(PLATES VII.—XIV.)

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### § I.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1920

As Sir Arthur Evans had suggested that in view of the great discoveries in Crete, which have thrown entirely new light on the origin and development of the Mycenaean civilisation, it was desirable that supplementary excavations should be undertaken at Mycenae in the hope of being able to solve some of the problems connected with the Grave Circle, the Treasury of Atreus and other monuments, the British School applied to the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction for a permit.<sup>1</sup> The permission was readily granted, as Professor Tsountas most courteously and generously gave up his rights on the site for the time being in favour of the British School. The excavation began on April 23rd, 1920, and lasted till July 9th, but the number of men employed never rose above twenty-five. The headquarters of the party were at the 'Fair Helen Hotel,' which was found as usual clean and comfortable, while its proprietor, Demetrios Ntases, himself a veteran digger, gave us much sage advice. A house was also rented to serve as a temporary museum and store-room.

The Director was in charge throughout, and had as his colleague in directing the work Dr. C. W. Blegen, Assistant-Director of the American School. Other members of the School who took part were, Mr. Casson, Mr. Collingham, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Tierney and Mr. Hutton. Mr. R. S.

<sup>1</sup> The four sections here published are the first instalment of the definite account of the School's excavations at Mycenae. Subsequent sections will appear in future volumes of the *Annual*. The drawings used to illustrate the present report are by M. E. Gilliéron fils, Miss Phyllis Emmerson (Mrs. A. W. Gomme), and Mr. P. de Jong.



Cole, who is an old friend of the School, most kindly devoted ten days of his time to the survey, and so greatly increased our obligations towards him: he was helped by Mr. Collingham. Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Gomme came for the latter part of the campaign and rendered important aid. Mr. Gomme assisted generally and was in charge of the palace, while Mrs. Gomme executed a valuable series of water-colour and black-and-white drawings of the principal finds. The photography was undertaken by Dr. Blegen and the Director, who also, in order to save expense, carried out jointly the duties of foreman. The Greek Archaeological Service sent a mender to clean and put together the pottery and other objects found; and Professor Orlandos himself came with a skilled mason to lift and replace the threshold blocks of the Treasury of Atreus. Dr. Kourouniotes, Chief of the Archaeological Department, and Mr. Philadelphes, Ephor of Antiquities for Argolis, both visited the excavations twice. Georgios Alexopoulos, the energetic and efficient guardian of antiquities at Mycenae, was constantly at hand to help in every possible way. The Copais Company also most kindly made for us photographic copies of working plans of the site.

The sum originally voted by the Committee of the School would have been insufficient for such an extended campaign, in spite of contributions from the Cambridge and Oxford Craven Funds and from many friends of the School in Athens and in England, but fortunately the American School were enabled through the generosity of Mr. R. B. Seager to co-operate most effectually. It is not too much to say that but for Dr. Blegen's assistance the campaign could not possibly have been carried out so smoothly. Besides, the American School lent various instruments, such as a theodolite, camera and photographic supplies lacking from the British equipment. The cordial co-operation of the two schools in their first post-war excavation is the best possible illustration of the relations existing between them and a happy augury for the future.

We had many visitors, including Sir Arthur and Lady Crosfield, who made a generous contribution to the excavation fund; and in June we had the great pleasure of a short visit from Mrs. Schliemann, who has since most kindly lent us her husband's original notebook of his excavations, which contains much valuable unpublished information. We are particularly indebted to Dr. Karo for his unselfish loan of the

proofs of his still unpublished article on the Grave Circle, together with his plans, which were most helpful and suggestive.

The workmen, who came from Mycenae (Charvati) and the neighbouring villages of Priphtani and Phychtia, though mostly new to such work, were on the whole willing and intelligent. Wages were, of course, thrice what they were before the war, but our principal trouble at first was not the cost of labour, but the difficulty of obtaining it, owing to the harvest and tobacco planting. How far the combined efforts of our workmen and ourselves have solved some of the problems before us it is for the archaeological world to judge, but we believe that, following in the footsteps of Schliemann and Tsountas, we have gleaned some new information about the history of Mycenae and its monuments, which will be useful to all students of Greek history, archaeology and art.

In addition to those already referred to by name, we wish to thank all the other many friends who helped us, and honourable mention must also be made of Kotsevina, the watch-dog at the Lion Gate.

A. J. B. WACE.

## § II.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1921.

The Greek Ministry of Public Instruction readily renewed our permit, and as usual gave us every facility they could. Mr. Theophaneides was specially sent to act as Government representative during the excavations, which were also visited by Dr. Keramopoulos, Ephor for Argolis, and after the close of the work Mr. Balanos came to inspect the walls and tholos tombs and consult with the Director about the measures necessary to repair and conserve them. Other visitors included Dr. Chatzidakis of Candia and Professor Kurt Mueller.

The actual excavation began on May 22nd, though Miss Lamb and Miss Herford arrived two days before and occupied themselves in arranging the workroom and other preparations. The number of men employed was at first twenty-five, and gradually rose to forty-seven, and then diminished again by degrees to six, when work ended on July 27th. The headquarters of the party were in the Metrovgenes house, which proved convenient and comfortable, while accommodation for the lady members was retained at the 'Fair Helen Hotel.' As before, two rooms were rented to serve as store and work rooms in the house of Aristoteles

Tsitsekos, the new guardian of antiquities, who helped us all he could. The Director was in charge throughout, and had as his colleague in directing the work Dr. C. W. Blegen, Assistant-Director of the American School, who unfortunately was obliged to leave before the excavations ended. In addition to Miss Lamb, who had charge of the palace, and Miss Herford, one other student of the School took an active part, Dr. Boethius, who was in charge of the tombs. Mr. L. Holland, architect of the American School, gave most valuable assistance and prepared an entirely new plan of the palace. Mr. P. de Jong, former student of the British School at Rome, rendered very important service in completing the plan of the Grave Circle area begun by Mr. Cole, and in making a fine series of drawings of the frescoes and vases. The photography was undertaken by the Director and Dr. Boethius. In Georgios Alexopoulos we had an efficient foreman, who, although new to archaeological excavation, performed his duties to our satisfaction.

The Committee of the School were unable to vote any credit from its general funds towards the excavations, but thanks to the generosity of Cambridge University, Oxford University, Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos, Mr. R. B. Seager, Mr. and Mrs. Lamb, and several other friends, sufficient funds were placed at our disposal to enable the work to be carried through. The material help given by the American School must also not be forgotten.

As before, our workmen were drawn from Mycenae (Charvati), and the neighbouring villages of Priphtani and Phychtia, and a large proportion of them had worked for us the season before. A small contingent of men, who had worked in the American excavation at Zygouries, came for a short time. Owing to the fall in the price of tobacco and the poor harvest we had no difficulty in obtaining labour, and paid the same wages as the year before. We also employed for some time the village mason and carpenter to carry out much-needed works of conservation on the palace and other buildings excavated. The relations throughout between our men and ourselves were excellent. Where all did well it would be invidious to mention any by name, but we are none the less very grateful to them for their willing work, which has produced the results here published.

A. J. B. WACE.

## EXCAVATIONS AT MYCENAE.

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### § III.—FRESCOS FROM THE RAMP HOUSE.

(PLATES VII.—X.)

#### I. *Provenance, Style and Date.*

THE pieces of fresco here described come from the so-called 'Ramp House,' the excavation of which was begun by Schliemann in 1876, and finished by ourselves in 1921. It lies south-east of the Grave Circle, immediately west of the Little Ramp, and east of the House of the Warrior Vase. In date it belongs to the Third Late Helladic period.<sup>1</sup> Of the frescoes, many came from the 'Megaron,' where they were found below a floor level in a deposit dating from Late Helladic II. or earlier times; the details of the stratification will be given in a later section. Some fine fragments came from the narrow passage between the 'Megaron' and the Little Ramp, where they were found at approximately the same level and in a deposit of the same date and character; indeed, one or two pieces of pottery found there join pieces from the 'Megaron.' The deposit seems to have extended to the north of the Ramp House, for it was found immediately outside the north wall, and also at the foot of the Little Ramp: both places produced fresco. That such variety and quantity of fresco should have decorated any of the buildings that

<sup>1</sup> The Late Helladic period should perhaps be more fitly called the Mino-Helladic period, since by this time the Minoan civilisation, which had established itself on the mainland at the end of the Middle Helladic period, had spread over continental Greece. Here it developed independently of, but parallel with, Crete, at the same time absorbing the underlying mainland element, and thereby producing the difference observable between Minoan and Mycenaean culture. Nevertheless, as we speak of the Early and Middle Helladic periods, it is simpler, although possibly not strictly accurate, to speak of Late Helladic also. In any case, the adjective 'Helladic' refers to the provenance of objects, and not to the origin of the culture they represent.

preceded the Ramp House on this site seems improbable. The alternative is to assume that the deposit had been thrown down the hillside from a higher level, presumably at the beginning of the Late Helladic III. period, when the acropolis walls were built, and the city replanned and reconstructed. It may be suggested<sup>1</sup> that the fresco comes from the earliest painted decoration of the palace on the summit of the acropolis. Of this there is no proof, and the great distance between the palace and the Ramp House, even down the sloping hillside, renders it unlikely. There is no reason, however, why there should not have been other buildings decorated with fresco in the first and second Late Helladic periods, and there is ample room for one or more of these to have stood on the hillside above the Ramp.

The Late Helladic I. and II. deposit described above, including the fresco, may have extended as far south as 'Tsountas' House,' for by that house, and directly south of an intervening portion still unexcavated, Professor Tsountas found the well-known fragment of fresco with men masquerading as asses.<sup>2</sup>

It now seems almost certain that the fresco fragments found by Schliemann, the exact provenance of which has never been known, came from the Ramp House. Both his notebook and his publication<sup>3</sup> state that the first pieces of painted plaster he found came from the region south of the Grave Circle; according to his notebook, none was found in the House of the Warrior Vase; the conclusion is, therefore, that they came from the Ramp House, which is the other area excavated by him south of the Grave Circle. Our own discovery of fresco confirms this. In style, the fresco is the same as Schliemann's: moreover, there is a join between one of his fragments (Athens, Nat. Mus., 1013-5) and No. 26 below; No. 1 (Pl. VII.) is certainly, Nos. 2-6 (Pl. VII.) with varying degrees of probability, part of the miniature fresco showing ladies looking out of a window;<sup>4</sup> Nos. 8, 9 (Pl. VIII.) supplement pieces at Athens belonging to a frieze of women.<sup>5</sup> Our finds, therefore, have an additional value as amplifying and throwing light on those of Schliemann.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 444, where the suggestion is made with regard to the fresco found by Schliemann; see below.

<sup>2</sup> 'Eφ. 'Αρχ., 1887, p. 160, Pl. X. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Mycenae*, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* xxxvi. p. 221, Pl. IX.

<sup>5</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, p. 69, n. 154, No. 9.

In relation to other paintings from the mainland, the style is that of the frescoes from Thebes<sup>1</sup> and from the first palace at Tiryns,<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* the style of the earlier mainland period dated Late Helladic I. and II. Notice particularly the characteristic pattern of No. 22 (Pl. IX.), the comparatively careful drawing of the women's dress in Nos. 8 and 9 (Pl. VIII.), and the preponderance of plain borders over borders with bars (see p. 198).

In relation to Crete, the miniature frescoes cannot be much later than those from Knossos<sup>3</sup> and Tylissos,<sup>4</sup> dated near the beginning of Late Minoan I.; the plant with blue leaves of Nos. 11-13 (Pl. IX.) closely resembles the flowers on the Griffin Fresco in the Throne Room<sup>5</sup> at Knossos, assigned to Late Minoan II.

We can thus distinguish two periods of fresco from the Ramp House, both, however, belonging to the earlier Mainland Group<sup>6</sup> mentioned above. This, as has been shown already, is the dating given by the pottery, and it is interesting to note that our Mycenae fragments, which are independently dated by the circumstances of their discovery, yet correspond in style to the Late Minoan I. and II. frescoes of Crete, and the Late Helladic I. and II. frescoes from Tiryns and Thebes.

## II. Description.

*Miniature Frescoes:* (i) architectural, (ii) with human figures and animals.

I. .025 × .025 × .015 m.<sup>7</sup> (Pl. VII.). On blue ground, portion of red horizontal beam meeting a transverse wall; the wall is red with two black markings, one in the angle, one .007 m. lower, the remains of black rectangular beam-ends.<sup>8</sup> In the angle of the beam and wall is fixed a small double axe (white). The red and blue overlap slightly.<sup>9</sup> In Pl. VII. the fragment has unfortunately been reproduced in a crooked position.

This is obviously part of Schliemann's miniature fresco with ladies on

<sup>1</sup> 'Ep. 'Apx., 1909, p. 90, Pls. I. and II.

<sup>2</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* vi. pp. 46-48; *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 192, Pl. V.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ep. 'Apx., 1912, Pls. XVIII.-XX.

<sup>5</sup> *B.S.A.* vi. p. 40. I am indebted to Sir Arthur Evans for showing me the parallel.

<sup>6</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. pp. 200, 201.

<sup>7</sup> The maximum thickness is given in each case.

<sup>8</sup> Fyfe, *J.R.I.B.A.* x. 1903, p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. Schliemann's Miniature Fresco, where the outline of the red pillar is corrected in blue paint, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxvi. p. 221, Pl. IX.

a balcony : there we find, distant '007 m. from each other, a similar indication of the beam-ends of a cross-wall, which Rodenwaldt suggests is the left-hand anta of a large opening. Our fragment will supply the corresponding anta on the right. The double axe may have supported a garland, as in Schliemann's fresco.<sup>1</sup>

2. '045 × '035 × '016 m. (Pl. VII.).<sup>2</sup> Fan-shaped ornament on white and blue ground, the white and blue being divided by a fine red line; other lines painted black. Below, traces of red band (the red scarcely visible); on left, yellow bar.

Part of 'triglyph pattern,' probably from a representation of architecture as in the Miniature Fresco from Knossos.<sup>3</sup> It should belong to the building represented by our No. 1 and the loggia of Schliemann's Miniature Fresco.

3. '047 × '035 × '007 m. (Pl. VII.). Orange-red band outlined with black; at right angles, bands of yellow, red, white and red. Above and below the white, blue lines. On the white, traces of black squares. Between the red and yellow, black outline.

Part of a representation of architecture; the red and yellow bands represent wooden beams; the black and white is the familiar chequer ornament used for filling spaces between woodwork and presumably painted,<sup>4</sup> of which the borders are a rather unusual variation. This fragment is probably from the same fresco as Nos. 1 and 2 : the black outline and the use of yellow to indicate wood are found in Schliemann's Miniature Fresco.

4. '104 × '088 × '024 m. (Pl. VII.). On ochre ground, lower part of male figure (red) springing to left : he wears white sandals and a white belt and loin-cloth, showing traces of black. The red of the body is painted over the yellow background and has no outline. Above,<sup>5</sup> legs and feet of female figure (white) wearing red sandals, with traces of black, the red being superimposed on the white. On the leg, remains of a black outline. Below the design and on the right, two borders, the inner white, the outer yellow with red bars. On the right, the border is divided from the background by an incised line, from the yellow border by a black line; below, there is no trace of either. There is a scratch in the right-hand corner, and a perforation behind the woman's heel.

The fragment is part of a bull-leaping scene, as is shown by the characteristic belt and sandals and by the fact that both a man and a woman take part. The man will then be leaping forward to seize the bull's horns or to

<sup>1</sup> Cp. also *B.S.A.* x. Pl. II. Fig. 14, and p. 42, 3; Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> The reproduction is crooked : the band below should be horizontal, that on the left, vertical.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* xxi. Pl. V. See also Bulle, *Orchomenos*, i. p. 73, Pl. XXXVIII., and Holland, *A.J.A.* xxi. pp. 125-8.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> For arrangement of figures on two levels without ground line, see Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 14.

catch a falling acrobat, though on these occasions an upright position is usual.<sup>1</sup> The exact nature of the footwear is uncertain, as the colours are much flaked off; probably the man wore white boots as in the 'Fresco of the Female Toreadors'<sup>2</sup> from Knossos, the woman red boots with details in black, more or less similar to those worn by the women in the same fresco.

5.  $12 \times 135 \times 022$  m. (Pl. VII.). On blue ground, feet and part of body of spotted bull. The hoofs were originally outlined with black and the lower line of the body sketched in yellow. Notice the careful drawing of the hair on the pastern. The bull's body when first drawn covered too large a space; this was corrected by a wash of blue which is clearly visible below the body, forming a slight ridge.<sup>3</sup> Below the design, white border with irregular incised line dividing it from the background; yellow border with red bars; blue border with black bars.

The position of the bull seems to be similar to that of the bull near the handle on one of the Vaphio cups; he is trotting forward. It has been noted<sup>4</sup> how rarely animals are thus represented in Minoan art; they are usually stationary or in violent movement.

6.  $085 \times 07 \times 022$  m. (Pl. VII.). On blue ground, hind-quarters of bull galloping. The body is white spotted red and with yellow and black markings. Below, a vertical white line.

This seems the best arrangement of the fragment: if it were reversed and the white object interpreted as the hand of a leaping figure, the direction of the spots would be very unusual.

Nos. 3 and 4 probably belong to the same fresco, but represent different animals, the one moving forward quietly, the other at a gallop. They may be part of a bull-fight, or of a scene like that on the Vaphio cups.

The question next arises as to the relationship of No. 4, the fragment with the acrobats, with, on the one hand, Nos. 5 and 6, and, on the other, with Schliemann's Miniature Frescoes, i. e. the ladies on a balcony and the fragments of a bull and acrobat finely drawn on an ochre ground.<sup>5</sup> Style, scale and subject connect it with the latter. With the former, Nos. 5 and 6, it is connected by scale<sup>6</sup> and perhaps by subject; the style is, however, more careful, and the border, though of the same pattern, a shade wider. It might belong either to Nos. 5 and 6, or to Schliemann's fresco. The difficulty of combining all pieces lies in the dissimilarity between the finished drawing of the bull on the ochre ground in Schliemann's fragment, and the sketchy style of Nos. 5 and 6. Nevertheless, it is tempting to regard Nos. 1-6 and both Schliemann's

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* xli. pp. 252-3.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* vii. p. 94; Maraggiannis, *Antiquités Crétoises*, iii. Pl. XV.

<sup>3</sup> The process may, however, be the same as in the fragment with the bull from Mycenae: *Ath. Mitt.* xxxvi. p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Human figures are always small in relation to the bull: see *B.S.A.* vii. 94.



fragments as part of the same picture, representing a bull-leaping scene with ladies looking on from some building:<sup>1</sup> an unevenness of execution is not inconceivable.

7. .034 × .048 × .012 m. (Pl. VII.). On blue ground, man standing before white object. His left arm is raised and bent at the elbow, possibly in adoration<sup>2</sup>; he wears white necklace, armlet and bracelet. Behind his head, what appears to be the leg of another man. The white object may be part of an altar:<sup>3</sup> above it are red marks of which the meaning is uncertain.

The style resembles most nearly that of the miniature fresco from Tylissos.<sup>4</sup> The fragment may well be part of the same fresco as No. 4 and Schliemann's Miniature Fresco, and may illustrate some rite connected with the sports.

*Fragments of female figures, dress, etc. For possible background see Nos. 23-5.*

8. .113 × .102 × .04 m. (Pl. VIII.) (the upper layer of fine plaster and the lower of coarse plaster, both being preserved). Blue ground with black scale-pattern; yellow borders with traces of red patterns and black lines; white ground.

Part of bodice and sleeve of woman's dress, the white belonging to the arm or body or to the neck, the arm being raised. A scale pattern is common on textiles: compare the "Ladies in Blue" from Knossos<sup>5</sup> and the Tiryns frieze of women.<sup>6</sup> In most cases where the direction of the scales can be determined, they point upwards. The upper part of the figure must have been more or less frontal: compare the Knossos fresco and the fresco from Thebes,<sup>7</sup> and contrast the frieze from Tiryns belonging to a later period, where the figures are in profile.

Probably from the same fresco as the fragments of women, about life size, from Schliemann's excavations.<sup>8</sup>

9. .129 × .078 × .02 m. (Pl. VIII.). Black bars and scale pattern on blue, and black bars on light blue.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 444. Our fresco may have been divided into blue and yellow panels, and thus resembled the reconstruction of the 'Fresco of the Female Toreadors' with panels of boxers proposed by Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. bronze statuette from Tylissos, 'Ep. 'Apx., 1912, Pl. XVII. and gold ring from Mycenae, *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 189, Fig. 63.

<sup>3</sup> It is also possible to interpret the white object as the arm of a woman dancer, with her fingers on the man's wrist, part of the hand having flaked off.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ep. 'Apx., 1912, Pls. XVIII.-XX.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. Fig. 397, p. 545-7.

<sup>6</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. VIII. pp. 69-94.

<sup>7</sup> 'Ep. 'Apx., 1909, p. 90, Pls. I. II.

<sup>8</sup> Athens, Nat. Mus. 1013-15; Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, p. 69, n. 154, No. 9.

<sup>9</sup> For use of light blue see *Tiryns*, ii. p. 6.

Part of frills on skirt. The bars curve slightly to the right, which suggests that the figure was seated, the legs in profile, in the pose of the lady from Psira<sup>1</sup> and the Knossos miniature frescoes.<sup>2</sup>

From the same fresco as No. 8.

10.  $\cdot 063 \times \cdot 057 \times \cdot 012$  m. (Pl. VIII.).<sup>3</sup> Blue frill with black markings against discoloured red background with traces of white spots. Very poor preservation.

The frill is composed of three stripes, of which the lowest was originally decorated with a scale pattern, and seems to have been painted on the top of the red ground: how much of the space was covered before the paint flaked off is uncertain, perhaps all, as the combination of a woman's dress and a spotted background (imitating stone?) has no parallel. Compare, however, Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II. Pl. II. 4.

*Fragments of plants,<sup>4</sup> grey-blue with red tongues and grey-black markings, on white ground.*

The best examples are:—

11.  $\cdot 15 \times \cdot 123 \times \cdot 028\text{--}013$  m. (Pl. IX.). At right-hand edge, marks of trowel and slight rise, as though the fragment touched a beam or framework.

Part of two plants, apparently belonging to a row, as in the fresco from the Throne Room, Knossos: <sup>5</sup> compare also *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. III. 3, which has similar colouring.

12.  $\cdot 085 \times \cdot 085 \times \cdot 015$  m. (Pl. IX.). Part of the ground or border, grey-blue with dark grey line at edge, from which spring blue and red stalks.

13.  $\cdot 08 \times \cdot 055 \times \cdot 017$  m. (Pl. IX.). In the left-hand upper corner the blue leaf is crossed by a white streak, perhaps part of the object to which the plant served as a background.

A small fragment, which may belong to the same design, shows the ends of two red stamens on a white ground.

*Various and uncertain subjects.*

14.  $\cdot 05 \times \cdot 045 \times \cdot 01$  m. (Pl. IX.). On white ground, two grey objects with black markings and red spots. Preliminary sketch in yellow.

Possibly parts of two fishes. Close vertical markings are peculiar to drawings of animals, etc.<sup>6</sup>

15.  $\cdot 038 \times \cdot 027 \times \cdot 016$  m. (Pl. IX.). On white ground, blue object with wide red border and markings.

<sup>1</sup> Seager, *Psira*, Pl. V.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* xxxvi. p. 221, Pl. IX.

<sup>3</sup> The reproduction is slightly crooked; the stripes should be horizontal.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> *B.S.A.* vi., p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Vases from Tiryns (Schliemann: *Tiryns*, Pls. XIV. XVII.b) show spots and lines somewhat resembling those of No. 14.

May be part of a bird or animal: compare Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. I. 5, and *Mon. Ant.* xix. Fig. 4, pp. 17, 18.

16. (a)  $\cdot 065 \times \cdot 098 \times \cdot 022$  m.; (b)  $\cdot 05 \times \cdot 038 \times \cdot 015$  m. (Pl. IX.).<sup>1</sup> On white ground, yellow band with red spots.

The nearest parallel is the fragment from Tiryns, which Doerpfeld interpreted as star-fish.<sup>2</sup> Rodenwaldt, however, shows that bands ornamented with spots represent woven ribbons.<sup>3</sup> This is the least improbable interpretation of the fragment in question, though it applies less well to the tapering band of (b). There are three other pieces of the same design: on one the yellow shades into grey.

17.  $\cdot 033 \times \cdot 035 \times \cdot 008$  m. (Pl. IX.). On ground partly white, partly yellow with red spots; grey leaf (?) with black markings.

The irregular spots are like those used to indicate the skin of an animal. It is possible that this is part of the same fresco as No. 16, and it is probably part of No. 18.

18.  $\cdot 043 \times \cdot 062 \times \cdot 013$  m. (Pl. IX.).<sup>4</sup> Two grey stripes barred and bordered with black enclose a yellow stripe with red bars. On right, dark red ground. Below, white band.

From same fresco as No. 17 (?).

19.  $\cdot 053 \times \cdot 025 \times \cdot 025$  m. (Pl. IX.). On dark red ground, white spots. Two blue markings, probably accidental.

Compare *J.R.I.B.A.* x. p. 117, Fig. 37 (same colouring) and Fig. 34 (blue and white). These are interpreted as belonging to the frame of a design. Fragments like No. 19 may, however, come from the decoration of a dress.

20.  $\cdot 122 \times \cdot 09 \times \cdot 028$  m. (Pl. VII.). On blue ground, dark red object with border consisting of yellow and black tooth pattern with red spots on the yellow, white on the black. Beyond, on the blue and scarcely visible, traces of another stripe and of another tooth pattern, also, apparently, black and yellow with white spots. To the left and above, white patches, with red spots on the former, and on the latter rows of red spots and fine black lines. The blue ground appears to have been painted over a previously existing red ground.

Subject very uncertain. May be sleeve puffed at shoulder, as the Pseira fresco.<sup>5</sup> The tooth pattern is common on the borders of dresses.<sup>6</sup>

#### Decorative Patterns.

21.  $\cdot 078 \times \cdot 065 \times \cdot 013$  m. (Pl. IX.). White ground: below, part of grey-blue band with dark grey lines and red spots.

<sup>1</sup> The reproduction is slightly crooked.

<sup>2</sup> Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 302, Pl. X. b, c.

<sup>3</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> The reproduction is crooked: the whole band should be horizontal.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Seager, *Pseira*, Pl. V.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 550.

Compare the spotted band on the fragment from Tsountas' excavations at Mycenae (Athens, Nat. Mus. 2783-5) and Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. IV.

22.  $.045 \times .02 \times .012$  m.<sup>1</sup> (Pl. IX.). Red arcs of circles on white ground: below, grey marking.

The reconstruction is supplied by Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. VI. 4 (earlier palace): two grey bands meet; in the angle between them is a row of red arcs of circles.<sup>2</sup> Another fragment of the same pattern was found.

*Backgrounds. Imitations of Stone and Wood.*

23.  $.162 \times .135 \times .027$  m. (Pl. VIII.). Yellow ground: above, black, blue, yellow, black and blue curved bands. The yellow is of the ochre shade. At one side, white object, marked by a black line which the white pigment covers. Apparently the fresco was painted as follows: washes of blue and yellow were first put on, their junction being concealed by the shorter black stripe. The longer black and blue stripes were then painted on the yellow, the blue by means of a substratum of white.

This fragment may represent part of a lady's arm against a background crossed by wavy horizontal bands, as in the friezes of the Cupbearer and Procession.<sup>3</sup> In this case it should be connected with Nos. 8-10.

24.  $.147 \times .1 \times .03$  m. (Pl. VIII.). On blue ground; black, ochre-yellow and blue curved bands (traces of black on the yellow). Crossing these, line of white dots; yellow band with red bars, line of white dots and three black lines; blue band with line of white dots; yellow band with traces of black. The yellow stripe with the red bars is painted on a substratum of white, the yellow band (?) in the corner of the fragment partly so.

Probably from the same fresco as last. The combination of the curved bands and the bands with bars and dots is curious. It occurs, apparently, on the background of the Tyliissos miniature fresco,<sup>4</sup> though the state of preservation makes this not quite certain. The use of barred bands and dots can be compared with vases of the first and second Late Helladic periods.<sup>5</sup>

25.  $.06 \times .05 \times .02$  m. (Pl. VIII.). On ochre-yellow ground, curved black band. Crossing this, blue band with black bars and borders, white dots. On the right, trace of blue ground.

From the same fresco as last.

26.  $.084 \times .07 \times .06$  m. (Pl. X.). On white ground, fine red lines and large spots with yellow, blue and red horizontal markings and black lines. The white ground is divided by a wide red line from a black ground spotted red, white and yellow.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> See also Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. Pls. III. 8, VI. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.*, vi. pp. 13, 15.

<sup>4</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1912, Pl. 188. I am indebted to Dr. Xanthoudides for kindly giving me information concerning the Tyliissos fresco.

<sup>5</sup> *E. g.* vase from Thebes, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1910, Pl. X. 2.

Imitation breccia: part of dado. This fragment fits the fragments Athens Nat. Mus. 1013-5 from Schliemann's excavations (Pl. X. a-b). For discussion and parallels see Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 26. Notice the straight edge on our fragment and on Schliemann's, where they no doubt touched a beam. Another large piece of the same fresco was found, but in very poor preservation, and three small pieces with blue ground, white spots, and black markings.

27.  $\cdot 083 \times \cdot 083 \times \cdot 02$  m. (Pl. X.). Above, red and grey-blue ground with black lines and white spots. Below, yellow ground with red streaks.

The red and grey-blue grounds imitate stone: on a fragment from Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae (Athens, Nat. Mus. 1013) the same red pattern is seen between two pieces of the familiar black spotted ground resembling that used to indicate Spartan basalt.<sup>1</sup> The fresco from the palace (Lobby to Domestic Quarters) has a similar design but without white spots.<sup>2</sup> The yellow ground with the red streaks is the familiar imitation wood-graining,<sup>3</sup> the Victorian element in Mycenaean painting.

A considerable number of pieces from the same fresco were found.

28.  $\cdot 065 \times \cdot 04 \times \cdot 013$  m. (Pl. X.). Blue ground with red line; black scallop; white ground.

Imitation of stone: blue is not infrequent in this connection. Compare fragments at Candia from Knossos (S.E. House) and Thebes (unpublished).

29.  $\cdot 045 \times \cdot 033 \times \cdot 09$  m. (Pl. X.). Red on white.

This may be imitation of stone; the white ground is not very common. Compare, however, Athens, Nat. Mus. 2784, and a fragment in the Candia Museum with red scallops on white.

30.  $\cdot 023 \times \cdot 033 \times \cdot 014$  m. (Pl. X.). Ochre ground; white spots; black markings.

Imitation of stone. A number of similar fragments were found. Compare fragments from Knossos (Candia Museum, Magazine).

31.  $\cdot 058 \times \cdot 056 \times \cdot 02$  m. (Pl. X.). On grey ground; black lines, white dots.

The nearest parallel seems to be No. 27, which is on a smaller scale. A quantity of pieces were found similar to No. 31, but in very poor condition.

32.  $\cdot 09 \times \cdot 06$  m. (Pl. X.). Blue ground with irregular white line; red ground with black markings, apparently imitating wood.

33. Numerous fragments imitating wood-graining with yellow or red ground and red or black streaks.

#### *Striped Borders.*

The barred stripe or dentil pattern (*e.g.* border to No. 5) occurs less frequently than the plain. This proportion is characteristic of the earlier period.

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* x. p. 42; Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 28.      <sup>2</sup> *Εφ. 'Αρχ.*, 1887, Pl. XII.

<sup>3</sup> See Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 356.

Two fragments have black and red stripes on white: compare the favourite Cretan arrangement of red, white and grey stripes<sup>1</sup>; the majority have stripes of blue, black, yellow and red. Several come from the same border; the largest has stripes of black, blue, black, yellow, red, yellow, red, in varying widths.

*Plain Backgrounds.*

Ochre, blue, white, grey (belonging to No. 31) and red grounds occur: also pieces with the junction of blue and ochre grounds.

*Fragments with two or more faces painted.*

These probably belong to circular altars, movable hearths,<sup>2</sup> or tables of offering.

I. Side (a)  $\cdot 047 \times \cdot 032 \times \cdot 015$  m. (Pl. X.). Side (b)  $\cdot 032 \times \cdot 017$  m. On (a), yellow stripe burnt to red in parts; above, pattern in black and white.

The pattern is one of the commonest modifications of the tooth, wave or notched plume ornament,<sup>3</sup> the 'tooth' being hatched. For the different forms of this pattern compare fresco *J.R.I.B.A.* x. p. 129, Fig. 73; vase, Sir Arthur Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, p. 157, Fig. 142 b (with rosette); and fresco, *J.R.I.B.A.* x. p. 129, Fig. 70 (with hatching in alternate directions). On (b) grey-blue border; below, traces of white ground.

II. Side (a)  $\cdot 054 \times \cdot 05 \times \cdot 058$  m. (Pl. X.). Side (b)  $\cdot 052 \times \cdot 017$  m. Side (c)  $\cdot 03 \times \cdot 029$  m. On (a) red stripe, black line (?), black and white tooth pattern, black line, blue stripe.

For the use of the tooth or notched plume motive on movable, clay hearths from Knossos, see Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 551.

On (b) yellow ground divided into two panels by blue vertical stripe; at either side of the grey and above the right-hand panel, black stripe.

On (c) red ground.

There are two other fragments from altars or steps, one with part of a spiral in red.

WINIFRED LAMB.

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.I.B.A.* x. 1903, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 548.

## EXCAVATIONS AT MYCENAE.

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### § IV.—THE RHYTON WELL.

(PLATES XI.—XIV.)

DURING the campaign of 1920 we sank a few trial pits within the acropolis walls to test the stratification and to try to find, if possible, earlier remains, after it had become clear to us that the buildings immediately round the Grave Circle were not earlier in date than Late Helladic III. Two such pits were made on the slope about fifty metres south-east of the top of the Ramp.<sup>1</sup> Near by we noticed what was at first taken to be a rectangular pit enclosed by a rough stone wall measuring 1.00 by 1.00 m. and .45 m. thick. The interior of this was cleared out, and then we found the walling was merely the coping (about 2.22 m. high at the point where it is best preserved) to a circular well-shaft about 1.15 m. in diameter, driven down through the hard limestone rock.

As we excavated the well-shaft nothing worth noting, except some miscellaneous potsherds and the remains of a crushed leaden vessel, came to light till a depth of about six metres below the highest point of the coping, when some fragments of a funnel-shaped rhyton in *Lapis Lacedaemonius* (A, below) were found. From this down to a depth of 7.75 m. the other objects here described were recovered. At this point the hard limestone gives way to a soft reddish conglomerate similar to the soft rock of the Grave Circle, which apparently underlies the hard limestone. The earth was very moist, but no water actually came into the well. We continued to clear the shaft till a depth of nine metres was reached, when, as nothing further was discovered, the excavation was stopped.

The objects found are :—

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Ath. Mitt.* 1915, Pl. XV.

*Funnel-shaped Rhyton.*

A. The lower part of a large funnel-shaped rhyton (Pl. XI. 1, 2) of *Lapis Lacedaemonius* (Nauplia Museum): height, .215 m.; diameter at bottom .049 m., at top .12 m.; diameter of opening at bottom .038 m., above .068 m. The outside is fluted. The inside was bored out by a tubular drill so that the wall is much thicker on one side than the other. The work, however, is very good; the flutes are regularly cut and the outside is well polished. The hole at the bottom is so wide that it might be thought that it had been originally fitted with a cap either in the same or some similar material, so as to enable the outlet to be better regulated, but no provision seems to have been made for this.

Funnel-shaped rhytons in stone are not common on Mycenaean sites on the mainland. We found one small piece of a fluted red stone rhyton in the granary at Mycenae. In the Nauplia Museum among the fragments from Tsountas' excavations at Mycenae there are two pieces of stone vessels in *Lapis Lacedaemonius*; one is possibly part of a similar rhyton, but the other is part of a bowl. In Crete funnel-shaped rhytons in stone are less rare; for instance, there is the famous sculptured example in steatite<sup>1</sup> from Hagia Triada, and a fine fluted specimen in pink limestone from Gournia,<sup>2</sup> in which the outlet at the bottom, being too large, was partially stopped by a neat steatite plug. *Lapis Lacedaemonius* seems to have been a favourite material at Mycenae, as several fragments in the rough or only partially worked are to be observed among the ruins.<sup>3</sup>

*Foot of Alabaster Cup.*

B. Foot of an alabaster cup (Nauplia Museum): height .08 m.; diameter below .055 m., above .05 m. (Pl. XII, B). At the top of the foot around the base of the cup are two shallow horizontal incised lines, and above these are the ends of thin similarly incised vertical lines, as though the cup had been ornamented outside with a series of narrow vertical panels somewhat resembling flat flutings. The alabaster cup,

<sup>1</sup> Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, Pl. XVI.

<sup>2</sup> Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, Pl. V. 13.

<sup>3</sup> At Knossos a number of partially worked blocks of this stone were found in the ruins of the palace. They had been imported from Laconia. Cp. *B.S.A.* viii. p. 78, xvi. p. 68 ff.



of which this fragment was the foot, was almost an exact counterpart of one found by Schliemann in the Fifth Shaft Grave.<sup>1</sup> This, like the fragmentary example under consideration, is cut out of one piece of alabaster, and is .25 m. high (Pl. XII. A). The diameter of the top of the cup is .115 m., while the base is .085 m. high and .07 m. in diameter at the bottom. In addition to the horizontal incised lines round the base of the cup, there are similar lines incised round the lower edge of the foot. There is a large part of yet another such cup from the Fourth Shaft Grave, but the foot and the body are made of separate pieces of alabaster.<sup>2</sup>

*Steatite Bull's-head Rhytons.*

C. Fragment, top of forehead with right and part of left horn socket of a steatite rhyton in the form of a bull's head (Athens, Nat. Mus. 6247) : length .13 m. ; height .10 m. ; thickness .035 m. (Pl. XIII. 1, C). The horn sockets are square in section, each side measuring .017 m., and are .035 m. deep, being pierced right through the side of the rhyton. The shallow engraved lines by which they were marked out are still clearly visible. It is interesting to observe that each horn was fastened by two pins; the left horn by two pins at right angles to one another, and the right horn by two pins that cross one another obliquely from above (Pl. XIII. 2, c, d).

D. Fragment, left side of face and forehead with horn and eye sockets of a steatite rhyton in the form of a bull's head (Athens, Nat. Mus. 6247) : height .11 m. ; breadth .06 m. ; thickness .02 m. (Pl. XIII. 1, D). The horn socket is round in section, being .01 m. in diameter, and is .015 m. deep, narrowing considerably towards the end. There was only one pin to fasten the horn in place (Pl. XIII. 2, a, b). The eye socket is .002 m. deep and measures .02 by .025 m.

These two fragments (C, D) may be considered together. It is fortunate that the fine example<sup>3</sup> from the Little Palace at Knossos is so perfect that we can restore these on similar lines. The workmanship of the Knossos example is extremely fine and delicate, but somewhat academic in treatment.<sup>4</sup> Of the two Mycenae fragments, the smaller

<sup>1</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenas*, p. 317, Fig. 479; Athens, Nat. Mus. 854.

<sup>2</sup> Athens, Nat. Mus. 600.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXV. pp. 79 ff., Figs. 87-90.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

(D) shows finer and more careful work, but does not approach the Knossian example in delicacy of rendering. The larger Mycenae fragment (C), on the other hand, displays a broader and more naturalistic treatment. The way in which the locks of shaggy hair tumble over the forehead is very realistic, and shows that the artist was in this case influenced more by a living model than by a metal prototype, such as the well-known silver bull's head rhyton<sup>1</sup> from the Fourth Shaft Grave. In this latter the horns were of wood<sup>2</sup> covered with gold, and Sir Arthur Evans believes that the horns of the Knossian rhyton were of the same materials.<sup>3</sup> It is possible, however, since in this well we found two pieces of worked ivory (E below), that the horns were made of ivory, which may have been covered with gold, for there are several instances of carved objects in ivory or bone from the Shaft Graves being afterwards coated with gold leaf.<sup>4</sup> The ears were probably of steatite or some similar stone, as in the case of the very fragmentary specimens from the Tomb of Double Axes at Knossos<sup>5</sup> and from Palaikastro.<sup>6</sup> The eyes were also inlaid like those of the almost perfect specimen from the Little Palace. So far as can be seen the technique and construction of the two Mycenae rhytons were similar to those of the Knossian example. This opinion is supported by the evidence of two more fragments of such rhytons from Mycenae. The first was found by Tsountas on the acropolis and published by Karo.<sup>7</sup> It is the lower point of the neck showing the deep folds of the flesh over the dewlap (Pl. XIII. 3, a, b, c). The extreme point, which is now missing, was made in a separate piece and attached with two pins, and may have been, as Karo suggests, a repair. At the back is seen a broad ledge (.005 m. deep and .015 m. wide) sunk below the edge to accommodate the back plate, which was also cut from a separate piece of steatite and attached by pins. The second fragment<sup>8</sup> was found by us in 1921 among the

<sup>1</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 215, Figs. 327, 328; Karo, *Jahrbuch*, 1911, pp. 249 ff., Pls. VII, VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Schliemann says in his notebook, "A large silver cowhead (gilded) with two long horns of pure gold which had evidently been stuffed with wood, for they were still now filled with half-rotten wood."

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 360, Figs. 377-386, where the material is described as wood.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXV. p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Karo, *Jahrbuch*, 1911, p. 252, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 251. Athens, Nat. Mus. 2706; h. .09 m., b. .07 m., th. .06 m.

<sup>8</sup> Athens, Nat. Mus. 6248; l. .10 m., w. .07 m., th. .02-.025 m.

fill below the floor of the closet under the stairs to the north-west of the court of the palace. This is the right side of the top of the neck (Pl. XIII. 3, *d, e*), and shows part of the inlet and of the ear-socket, which is .005-.008 m. deep, and pierced with two small holes for the wires or pins to fasten the ears in place. At the back there is a flat edge (.02 m. wide), against which the back plate of steatite was fastened by means of pins sunk in holes bored along the edge. We thus see that although the details may differ slightly, the general method of construction was in every case the same as that described by Sir Arthur Evans in his discussion of the Knossian specimen. The material of all four Mycenae fragments is dark green steatite, and two of the four show patterns marked by shallow engraved lines in the centre of the forehead, round the eyes and on the cheeks. Such patterns are also to be found in the Knossian examples, shown by incised lines in the rhyton from the Little Palace, and by inlaid plaques in the case of that from the Tomb of Double Axes. The pattern in the centre of the forehead, which in the Little Palace rhyton Karo suggests<sup>1</sup> may be a religious symbol, corresponds to the gold rosette on the silver rhyton from the Fourth Shaft Grave. It is possible that these incised lines may have been intended to grip the edges of pieces of gold leaf<sup>2</sup> applied as decoration here and there to the head, in much the same way in which chefs decorate a boar's head for a banquet. A bull's head rhyton so decorated and used as a ritual vessel at religious ceremonies may have been intended to recall a sacred bull so adorned, which was sacrificed<sup>3</sup> and afterwards consumed at a mystic banquet at great religious festivals. One of the scenes on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus<sup>4</sup> very possibly represents some of the observances that preceded a sacrificial feast. On the other hand, as Sir Arthur Evans suggests,<sup>5</sup> these patterns may have been intended to indicate colour patches such as are seen on the sides of bulls in painted representations.<sup>6</sup> This view is strengthened by the irregularity of some of the patterns, which seem more like natural dappling than deliberate artificial ornamentation.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Vessels in carved steatite were often coated with gold; cp. Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 676.

<sup>3</sup> The horns of the bull sacrificed by Nestor (*Od.* III. 430 ff.) were covered with gold by a craftsman specially summoned.

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. Ant.* xix. Pl. II.

<sup>5</sup> *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXV. p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Pl. VII. of this report.

It is impossible to date the Mycenae fragments. The silver rhyton from the Fourth Shaft Grave belongs to the First Late Helladic Period, while the two Knossian examples are both assigned to Late Minoan II., and Sir Arthur Evans thinks that the conventional treatment of the latter is due to their being copied from metal vessels, while the silver head from the Fourth Shaft Grave is very realistic. On this we could assign fragment *D* to Late Helladic II., and the other pieces which are naturalistic to Late Helladic I. That objects of this date were found in the well is proved by the broken alabaster cup, *B*, which is like that from the Fifth Shaft Grave. On the other hand, most of the pottery from the well, as will be seen below, is late (L.H. III.), and consequently the dating just given must be regarded as quite conjectural.

#### *Ivory.*

*E.* Two fragments of worked ivory (Nauplia Museum); one is .07 m. long by .03 m. thick, and the other .045 m. long by .02 m. thick.

#### *Clay Seal Impression.*

*F.* Impression in pale reddish clay of an amygdaloid sealstone (Athens, Nat. Mus. 6246), .03 m. long, .024 m. wide and .01 m. thick (Fig. 1). In the centre is seen a sacred column, unfluted and of the



FIG. 1.—CLAY SEAL-IMPRESSION AND SECTIONAL DRAWING. (Scale 1:1.)

usual Mycenaean type, being thicker at the top than at the bottom. On either side of it is a kneeling quadruped, the species of which cannot be determined. One would expect lions, bulls or griffins, which are the animals usually found in heraldic devices of this character. Here the two animals seem more like goats or horses, but their identification must be left an open question. Above each quadruped is a sacred dove in

flight. The capital of the sacred pillar is crowned by what seems to be a double representation of the horns of consecration, between which is a row of round dots presumably intended to indicate a row of beam-ends, as in the case of the column of the Lion Gate. Perched between the upper horns of consecration there seems to be another dove. The seal stone which made this impression belonged to the well-known class of gems with animals heraldically disposed on either side of a sacred tree or pillar. Several examples of this class are already known from Mycenae, and the whole group has been discussed in detail by Sir Arthur Evans.<sup>1</sup> One point, in which this stone differed from the others of its class, is the presence of the doves in association with the sacred pillar and heraldic animals. At Knossos<sup>2</sup> among the remains of a miniature model shrine in terra-cotta were found sacred pillars with doves resting upon them. Doves are also seen perched on the model gold shrines from the Third and Fourth Shaft Graves.<sup>3</sup> The same idea is repeated on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus,<sup>4</sup> in Homer's account<sup>5</sup> of Nestor's cup and in the gold vase of the Fourth Shaft Grave.<sup>6</sup> The whole question of the cult of the Dove Goddess in Minoan times has recently been dealt with by Sir Arthur Evans,<sup>7</sup> who quotes this very seal impression. It is remarkable as the first yet found on the mainland of Greece, and for its religious connections. Sir Arthur Evans informs me that heraldic types in Crete begin to appear in the transitional M.M. III. *b*—L.M. I. *a* stage and become frequent in L.M. I. *b* and L.M. II. As the mainland would probably be somewhat behind Crete, we may date this seal impression to the fifteenth century B.C.

#### *Lead.*

G. Lead (Nauplia Museum): the remains of a large vessel of this metal much crushed and decayed.

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* 1901, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. pp. 221 ff., Fig. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 267, Fig. 423. Prinz's suggestion (*Ath. Mitt.* 1910, p. 159) that there was a dove set on the top of the column of the Lion Gate relief is untenable, because what he took for dowel holes are merely natural faults in the limestone and not artificial borings.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 440, Fig. 317.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad*, xi. 632–635.

<sup>6</sup> Stais, *Coll. Mycénienne*,<sup>2</sup> p. 52, No. 412.

<sup>7</sup> *Palace of Minos*, i. pp. 222 ff.

*Pottery.*

*H.* Pottery (Nauplia Museum); fragment from the rim of a Late Helladic III. krater (Pl. XIV. 1*d*), of the same shape approximately as the Warrior Vase, decorated with a chariot scene. On the left are seen the head and neck of a man, behind whom appear four oblique lines, possibly the hands of another figure standing near him. The former holds one rein in each hand, and the reins run forward over a double yoke, each section of which consists of two arches. Under the yoke is seen part of the body of a horse. The design is executed with a rich deep red-brown glaze paint, and picked out with white in dots on the head and arms of the charioteer, and in wavy lines on the reins, yokes and horses. In style this fragment is clearly L.H. III. or ordinary late Mycenaean work. The nearest parallel to it is a fragment of an almost exactly similar vase found by Schliemann at Tiryns,<sup>1</sup> and chariot scenes of this character are not uncommon on late Mycenaean kraters from Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> As to the date of this piece there is little to be said, for although it falls comparatively late in L.H. III., it does not seem to date from the end of this period.

*I.* Jug (Nauplia Museum), top of neck and handle missing, of Late Helladic III. style (Pl. XIV. 2). The body is divided horizontally in the middle by a belt of three parallel bands; at the base of the neck and at the bottom of the body there is one horizontal band. Of the panels thus formed between the bands the lower is quite plain and the upper is ornamented with a net pattern, in which the centre of each mesh is marked by a dot. The paint is a brown glaze colour less rich than that of *H*, and the bands were made by revolving the vase on the wheel against the brush, but the net pattern is rather carelessly rendered. Net patterns such as this are not known on vases earlier than L.H. II., and there is a fine jar with a network design from the *dromos* of Tomb 515 at Mycenae, which probably belongs to the fifteenth century B.C. Net patterns, however, are very common in L.H. III., but it is impossible to give any definite date within this latter period for this jug. It does not seem to be very late or very early within it.

<sup>1</sup> Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, *Cat. of Vases*, i. 2, pp. 66, 69, 80.

*Terra-cotta Figurines.*

*J, K.* Two fragmentary terra-cotta figurines (Nauplia Museum), base of one, body of the other; both are of the ordinary late Mycenaean (L.H. III.) type, with a columnar base and the arms in a crescent shape.

*L.* Forequarters of a terra-cotta animal figurine (Nauplia Museum) of ordinary late Mycenaean style (L.H. III.), possibly a cow or a horse.

*M.* Rough spindle whorl (Nauplia Museum) made of a coarse unpainted potsherd roughly chipped round and bored through the centre.

*Miscellaneous Pottery.*

Among the mass of miscellaneous potsherds, which are all in the Nauplia Museum, apart from one small piece of Matt-painted ware, Group II.,<sup>1</sup> only two small pieces seem to be earlier than L.H. III., and they are not L.H. I., though there is one plain shallow saucer with strongly defined wheel-marks, but smoothly finished. This type of saucer is common in L.H. I. and II.:<sup>2</sup> one, for instance, was found with the earliest group of burials in Tomb 517 at Mycenae, which contained only L.H. I. and II. vases, and many specimens have been found below the floors of the later palace. Other sherds, all late Mycenaean (L.H. III.), include:—

Stirrup vases, seven fragments.

Jugs of a hydria type, eighteen fragments; one piece has a simple spiral pattern on the shoulder (Pl. XIV. 1a).

Spouted bowls, one fragment.

Kylikes, twenty-six fragments, only five painted.

Small bowls of a krater shape,<sup>3</sup> forty-six fragments. The patterns are as usual: one characteristic piece here figured (Pl. XIV. 1b) shows part of a degenerate octopus design. Another small piece has a stippled or thrush-egg pattern. The rest have rosettes, chevrons (Pl. XIV. 1c), and the ordinary patterns to this shape.<sup>4</sup>

Large kraters, one fragment.

Shallow bowls with horizontal ribbon handles, one fragment.

Three fragments from the bases of vessels of coarse red ware with holes punched in the upper side only. The purpose of the holes and of the vessels is unknown, but they possibly had something to do with cooking.

Hellenic jug, two fragments.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Wace-Blegen, *B.S.A.* xxii. p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, Fig. 81.

<sup>3</sup> C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, Figs. 83, 85.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pls. XXVIII.-XXXV.

In addition to the pieces here enumerated there were a large number of fragments of pithoi, large stirrup vases and other coarse domestic ware.

It is remarkable that this well should have been cut down through the hard limestone rock, for as a rule, apparently, except in the last period (L.H. III), the Mycenaeans preferred to work in the soft rock. Then the finding of fragments of three fine stone rhytons and of a seal impression of a religious character, to say nothing of the alabaster cup, suggests that the well may have been near a shrine, and may even have been a sacred well. Further examination of the adjoining area, which has unfortunately been much disturbed by Hellenic building and was partly excavated by Professor Tsountas, may possibly throw further light on this point.

A. J. B. WACE.





## ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

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THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 19th, 1920, the Right Hon. HERBERT FISHER, M.P., President of the Board of Education, in the chair.

The Chairman of the Managing Committee, Mr. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, presented the following Report on their behalf for the Session 1919-1920 :—

In spite of such serious obstacles as the world-wide rise in costs, the lack of money, and the shortage of students, the Committee feel that the record of achievement which they now present is fully worthy of the traditions of the School. That so much should have been accomplished with very slender resources both in men and money is a triumph due to the untiring energy of the Director and the loyal co-operation of the Assistant Director and all connected with the School.

The future is full of promise, if the School can carry on during the present difficult days of readjustment, but this can only be done if increased financial support is forthcoming. The Government grant was renewed last spring for one year, and the Committee hope for its renewal next year for the usual quinquennium. This year various generous donations have eked out the annual income, and a certain number of new subscribers have been obtained, but the total income of the School, though not far below the pre-war amount, has a greatly diminished purchasing power. The Committee therefore earnestly appeal to all interested in the work of the School to help it in this crisis of its history.

**War Memorial.**—At the suggestion of the Executive a small sub-Committee was appointed to give shape to the universally expressed wish that some permanent memorial to the students who fell in the war should be placed in the School buildings. After much consideration it was decided that this should take the form of a bronze tablet to be placed in the entrance hall of the Hostel. The tablet, which is from the design of Mr. Theodore Fyfe, F.R.I.B.A., a former student of the School, is reproduced below.

During the past year the School has lost by death one of the most remarkable of the brilliant group of students who, from 1900 onwards, made their home in the Hostel. Mr. F. W. Hasluck came out first in 1901 as Cambridge Student, and after five years' apprenticeship was appointed Assistant Director and Librarian in 1906, a post he held until his resignation in 1915. He was the permanent element in the Hostel, where he lived till his marriage, and it is impossible to over-estimate the debt which successive generations of students owed to his shrewd but unobtrusive counsel, and to the constant example of his high standard of conduct and work. In 1916 he was ordered to Switzerland, where for three and a half years he and his devoted wife made a brave



DIMENSIONS: 2 FT. 10½ IN. X 1 FT. 4 IN.

fight against the illness of which he died on February 22nd, 1920. A memorial notice of him appeared in *The Times* of February 24th, and is reprinted on page xvi. of Vol. XXIII. of the *Annual*.

Dr. Ronald M. Burrows, late principal of King's College, University of London, though never a student of the School, was intimately connected with it, especially during his excavations at Rhitsona, in Boeotia, the record of which was published in the *Annual*. He had not only the enthusiasm, but the *flair* which is so important a factor in excavation, and it was a real loss to learning that the administrative duties of his official position left him no time for archaeological study during the last eight years of his life.

**The Secretary.**—The Committee announce with great regret that, acting on medical advice, Mr. Penoyre has given up the Secretaryship of the School which he has held for fifteen years. It is impossible in a paragraph to do justice to the quality of Mr. Penoyre's work for the School. Successive generations of Directors and Students have found in him a warm personal friend, never weary of service on their behalf, never too busy to take an interest in their work. His whole-hearted devotion to the School and his genius

for interesting other people in its welfare, coupled with his intimate knowledge of every detail of its affairs, have made him an invaluable coadjutor to the Committee, who have been accustomed to rely on him for help in many matters which really lay outside his official duties.

Since May the secretarial work has been temporarily undertaken by Miss Hutton, but the Committee have pleasure in announcing that another former student, Mr. Maurice S. Thompson, has agreed to act as Secretary for the ensuing year.

**The Director.**—On November 1st, 1919, the Director, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, M.A., was released by the Foreign Office from the work on which he had been employed since 1915 at H.B.M. Legation in Athens. The past season has been exceptionally busy, owing partly to the necessity of restarting the archaeological side of the School's activities, partly to preliminary work in connexion with the excavations at Mycenae, and last, but not least, to the many claims made on his time by what may be best described as 'the duties incidental to his position.' These include examining in English for the Greek Ministry of National Economy, presiding over the Committee for awarding the Greek national prize for painting, and helping to arrange the new Museum of Decorative Art in Athens. During the winter Mr. Wace lectured in the National Museum to British and French students on prehistoric archaeology. He also gave a course of 'popular' lectures on Art and Archaeology, illustrated by visits to monuments and museums, which were well attended by British and foreign residents, and, in conjunction with the Assistant Director, another course on the same lines, for Greeks only. In March, with Mr. Seager and Mr. Collingham, he visited Mycenae, Tiryns, and Nauplia, where a preliminary study was made, with interesting results, of the pottery from the excavations of Schliemann, Stamatakes, and Tsountas at Mycenae. He superintended the excavations there from beginning to end (April to July), and, at the end of July, went to Crete, where he spent four weeks in visiting sites and museums, making a special study of the early pottery. He returned to England towards the end of September.

**The Assistant Director and Librarian.**—Mr. Stanley Casson, M.A., arrived in Greece early in October, 1919, and remained until the beginning of June, 1920. In addition to the ordinary duties of his office, which include the administration of the Hostel and the charge of the Finlay and Penrose Libraries, he delivered, in conjunction with the Director, a course of lectures on Art and Archaeology, and, at the request of H.B.M. Legation, superintended the erection of the Rupert Brooke memorial on the island of Skyros. During May he took part in the excavations at Mycenae, and was in charge of the trial trenches outside the Lion Gate. Since his appointment to the Assistant Directorship, Mr. Casson has been elected to an Archaeological Fellowship at New College, Oxford, under the conditions of which he resides for one term

in Oxford and eight months in the Near East. The Committee feel that this arrangement will benefit both the School and the University by bringing to the notice of undergraduates, other than students of archaeology, the facilities for a short stay in Greece afforded by the Hostel.

**The Students.**—Mr. Harold Collingham, B.A., of Queen's College, Cambridge, Craven Student, came out to Greece in October, 1919. He chose as his special subject of study the pre-Mycenaean Period on the mainland, with particular reference to the pottery, the 'so-called 'idols,' and early religion. With a view to preparing himself for the excavations at Mycenae, he devoted considerable time to the study of the prehistoric collections in the National Museum, and travelled extensively to visit those local museums on the mainland which contained pottery, etc., from recent excavations of pre-Mycenaean sites. He also visited Knossos and the museum at Candia. At the end of April he went to Mycenae to take part in the excavations, remaining in all eight weeks, and assisting the Honorary Surveyor, Mr. Cole, in his work. He returned to England in July.

Mr. A. W. Lawrence of New College, Oxford, was admitted while still an undergraduate, and came out to Athens in April with a grant to assist in the excavations and to study sculpture and ancient history. On the way out he visited the collections in the Louvre and at Bologna; he stayed in Athens for three weeks to study the sculptures in the National and Acropolis Museums, and made a walking tour through Attica and Central Greece. He also travelled on foot through the Peloponnesos, and spent a month at Mycenae. He came home by Naples and Rome, where he studied the collections of sculpture, and on his return to Oxford took a Diploma in Classical Archaeology.

Mr. Michael Tierney, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in Greek at University College, Dublin, came out to Athens in April, 1920, having spent the previous six months in Paris as a student of philology, palaeography, and some classical subjects at the Sorbonne and the École des Hautes Études. During his four months' stay in Greece he travelled extensively, his object being to obtain such first-hand knowledge of the topography of the country and of the collections as would help him in his University teaching. He also devoted seven weeks to the excavations at Mycenae, where he gave valued help. He left Greece at the end of July, and on the homeward journey spent some weeks at the British School at Rome.

Mr. J. B. Hutton, M.A., Lecturer in Greek History and Archaeology at the University of Glasgow, went out to Athens in June with a grant from the Carnegie Trustees for travel in Greece. He spent a week at Mycenae, as part of a tour in the Morea and Central Greece. After a brief visit to Crete he went to Smyrna to travel in Asia Minor. The Committee have learnt with great regret of his death there during September from enteric fever.

Mr. A. W. Gomme, B.A., Lecturer in Greek at the University of Glasgow, a former student of the School, and Mrs. Gomme, came to Greece

in May and gave most efficient help at Mycenae, where Mr. Gomme superintended the work at the Palace and Mrs. Gomme (Miss P. K. Emmerson) drew and painted the more important finds.

At Christmas two Rhodes scholars from Oxford and at Easter two students from Cambridge availed themselves of the facilities offered by the School. One of them, Mr. Lucas, now Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, returns to Athens next Session for three months as School Student.

**Excavations.**—Sir Arthur Evans suggested to the Committee that in view of the fresh light which the discoveries in Crete had thrown on the origin and development of the Mycenaean civilisation it was desirable that supplementary excavations should be undertaken at Mycenae, in the hope of solving some of the problems connected with the Grave Circle, the Treasury of Atreus, and other monuments. Application was therefore made to the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction for a permit to excavate there. Professor Tsountas generously gave up his rights over the site for the time being, and the permit was readily granted. The sum which the Committee could allocate for the work would have been insufficient to carry it out, but grants in aid were received from the Craven Funds of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; gifts were also received from private donors, among whom may be mentioned Sir Arthur Crosfield. A collection on behalf of the fund was voluntarily offered by the audience of Mr. Wace's lectures in Athens, and through the generosity of Mr. Seager the American School were able to co-operate. The excavations aroused much interest in Greece; the Greek archaeological service sent a mender to clean and put together the finds, and Professor Orlandos came himself, with a skilled mason, to lift and replace the threshold-blocks of the Treasury of Atreus. Two brief interim Reports by the Director were published in the *Literary Supplement of The Times* for June 24th and August 19th.

Work began on April 23rd, 1920, and lasted until July 9th. The Director was present throughout, and had as his colleague in directing the work, Mr. C. W. Blegen, Assistant Director of the American School, without whose unselfish help the excavation could not have been carried through. Mr. Casson came in May, Messrs. Collingham, Lawrence, Tierney and Hutton were present for varying periods during the course of the work, Mr. Cole devoted ten days of his scanty leisure to the survey, and Mr. and Mrs. Gomme came at the end of May and rendered valuable help. To Mrs. Gomme the School is indebted for a series of careful drawings to scale, and water-colour sketches of the finds.

On the Acropolis itself the Royal Grave Circle has been carefully examined with a view to determining the period when the graves were enclosed in the ring-wall of slabs, and the relation of the latter to the Lion Gate. Various buildings have been completely or partially cleared, e.g. the Granary, the South House and the Palace, and two wells have been found and examined. Outside

the Acropolis the 'Treasury of Atreus' has been re-examined, and trial trenches made near the Lion Gate.

*The Granary.*—In the roughly triangular space between the Grave Circle and the Lion Gate, Schliemann began the excavation of a large building built right up to the city wall. This has now been cleared and reveals a strange plan with long corridors; it had two or three storeys, with a small window to light the staircase. Probably it was a royal granary, for carbonised grain was found in tall tublike receptacles of unbaked clay such as are still used by the peasants of the Argive Plain. In the middle of the floor of the central room a slight depression was noted; a trial pit yielded three discs of gold like those found by Schliemann in the Royal Graves, and further examination revealed a shaft grave cut in the soft rock and lined with rough stone walls. Unfortunately its contents had been removed in ancient times, but there were some nineteen discs of gold with rosette patterns, half a dozen beads of glass paste, two leaden vessels much crumpled, six fragments of a large terracotta vase, and two pieces of worked ram's horn from a helmet. Other finds from the granary were a nest of fifty clay cups cracked by fire, two fine painted vases with friezes of aquatic birds, a steatite bucranium pendant, and a gold ring of twisted wire.

*South House.*—To the south of the Grave Circle, under the floor of a house partially cleared this season, a Middle Helladic interment was found. The house itself is a fine specimen of Mycenaean domestic architecture. The walls still stand to a height of five feet, and show clearly the positions of the wooden ties set in the stone base to support the superstructure of crude brick, and covered over with clay plaster. The doors and threshold were of wood. There seems to have been an upper storey and the roofs were flat, for there are innumerable pieces of cement resting on a backing of clay, laid over branches of trees placed on rafters set close together. The four rooms cleared were empty except for the remains of two large leaden vessels which had melted and run over the clay floor. In a later stratum of the ruins above the Mycenaean house the foundations of a Hellenistic house were found. These ruins, which contained a terracotta bath and three cement basins also for bathing, confirm the evidence previously found, proving that, contrary to the statements of Pausanias, Mycenae was occupied in the Hellenistic Age, about two centuries after its destruction by the Argives in 468 B.C.

*The Palace.*—Towards the end of the season a re-examination was begun of the palace on the summit of the Acropolis excavated by Tsountas. The courtyard, the porch and vestibule of the megaron, and two or three adjacent rooms were cleared. In the vestibule there is an elaborate floor consisting of painted stucco bordered by gypsum slabs imported from Crete. The painted stucco is divided into panels, of which there were three across the room, separated by dark red borders and decorated with red, blue and white zig-zags

on alternative pink and red grounds. In the same room were found pieces of painted plaster from the walls, too much calcined by fire to show any recognisable design.

*Wells.*—In testing the Acropolis area for graves a trial excavation was made at the N.W. angle of the 'House of the Warrior Vase,' which has a curious kink at this point. In the angle between the corner of the house and the Cyclopean wall, a large empty well was found, cut down forty feet in the soft rock, and evidently older than the house, as the wall had been set back to leave the well-mouth free. Another well (Rhyton Well) is cut in the hard limestone to the S.E. of the ramp leading up from the Lion Gate. It was discovered while searching for rubbish assumed to have been thrown away when the Palace was built, and was cleared to a depth of twenty-seven feet. It produced some fragments of good terracotta vases not of the latest Mycenaean style, and pieces of three fine stone rhytons, two of steatite carved as bulls' heads, with inserted eyes and horns of some other material, possibly ivory, as worked pieces of tusks were found in the same deposit. A clay sealing found in this well represents two quadrupeds lying on either side of a sacred pillar, while two doves fly over their heads. On the capital of the pillar is a double pair of horns of consecration, between which is perched a dove.

*Painted Plaster.*—Although the plaster from the Palace was calcined beyond recovery, other fragments, similar to pieces found by Schliemann, probably in the same area, were found near some walls lying close under the ramp to the S. of the Grave Circle. Some show a dappled bull against a blue ground and the white hand of a female toreador; another shows a male and a female acrobat, and others, designs imitating wood graining. With the plaster there were quantities of vase fragments, so the deposit is probably rubbish thrown down the hill from destroyed or reconstructed buildings.

*'Treasury of Atreus.'*—The most dramatic event in the season was the lifting of one of the blocks of the threshold of the great domed tomb, for which the Greek archaeological authorities gave permission. This was done because the tomb itself yielded no clue to its date. Two shallow burial pits, cut in the living rock, were found in the floor, but both had been so thoroughly plundered long ago that the most careful sifting of the soil gave no shred of evidence. When the southern stone of the threshold was lifted there came to light a deposit of gold leaf, with a few beads of faience, carnelian and paste, some bronze nails, fragments of ivory rotten with damp, and parts of painted vases of late Mycenaean style.

From this brief summary it will be seen that, though the excavation has yielded no sensational results, it is evident that the site still contains many interesting relics of the past history of the various cities which succeeded each other there, and will well repay further excavation if the School is in a position to continue the work next season.



**Publications.**—Vol. XXIII. of the *Annual* will soon be issued to Subscribers. Besides a record, as complete as it was possible to make it, of the war-service, military and otherwise, of former students of the School, it contains the first connected account of the archaeological work done in Macedonia by those on active service with the Salonika Field Force. To this account Monsieur Ch. Picard, Director of the French School, has contributed a brief résumé of the work done by French archaeologists in their section of that war zone.

*Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, Vol. II. The Editor, Mr. Casson, reports that this volume is now in the press, and should be issued early next year.

Mr. Dawkins has made good progress, during the past year, with the long projected definitive publication of the School's excavations at Sparta. Unfortunately the cost of publication has trebled in the last four years, and the Committee can only hope that when the book is completed some modern Herodes Atticus may offer to defray the expense of publication.

**Open Meetings.**—Two well attended open meetings were held in the course of the Session, when the following papers were read :—

December 20th, 1919.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace : *The Battle of Pharsalos.*

Mr. S. Casson : *Herodotus and the Caspian Sea.*

April 1st, 1920.

Prof. Orlandos : *Les Chapelles funéraires des Commène-Doucas de Thessalie et d'Épire.*

Mr. A. J. B. Wace : *Mycenae.*

**The Penrose and Finlay Libraries.**—The total number of the accessions to the Libraries is 181 books and pamphlets (other than periodicals). This represents, mainly, the accumulations during the war, as very few of the books sent out from home had reached Athens before the Librarian returned to England in June. All these additions have been incorporated in the catalogue, the books in the Penrose Library have been checked with the shelf list, the maps and charts have been rearranged and classified, and alterations, revisions, and additions have been made in the topographical section of the card-catalogue. The checking of the Penrose Library revealed the distressing absence of 40 volumes which the Librarian is trying to trace.

Mr. F. B. Welch, a former student of the School, and now Vice-Consul at Athens, has undertaken to complete the catalogue of the Finlay Library, begun by Mr. Tod in 1904 and continued by Mr. Hasluck in 1914. The importance of this work cannot be over-estimated; it is now nearly completed,

all the books have been labelled and rearranged, and only the pamphlets and the Finlay papers remain to be catalogued. Large and important additions have lately been made to the collection of War Pamphlets and Publications connected with Greece, which will be invaluable to the future historian.

The School is indebted to Miss J. Buchanan for a kind offer to type the shelf list in duplicate when it has been revised and brought up to date. This will much lighten the work of checking the library and, incidentally, will solve a difficulty in connexion with the insurance.

Thirty-eight readers outside the immediate circle of the School have borrowed books during the Session; the total number of books borrowed was 219. Among readers in the library may be mentioned Drs. Blinkenberg and Johannsen of Copenhagen, to whom the School was proud to offer accommodation.

The special list of *libri desiderati* circulated last year with the Report brought several important additions to the library, including the latest edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the generous gift of Sir Basil Zaharoff, G.B.E., and sixty-eight volumes of the *Bibliotheca scriptorum classicorum Oxoniensis* presented by Mr. Hogarth.

A large and valuable collection of maps of Thessaly and Turkey in Europe and in Asia has been presented by the War Office, and another valuable collection of maps, etc., of Constantinople, by the Executors of the late Dr. Hodgkin. The School is also indebted for gifts of books to the Trustees of the British Museum, the Board of Education (Victoria and Albert Museum), the University Presses of Oxford and of Cambridge, and the following private donors: Prof. Andreades, Messrs. Atchley, Beazley, Bosanquet, Cole, P. Dragoumes, E. H. Freshfield, Griffith, G. F. Hill, Johannsen, Kendrick, Negrie, Petrocochino, Parkes Weber, and the Misses Bulwer, Hutton, and Richter.

**Acknowledgments.**—Acknowledgment has been made in the course of this Report of much valued help given to the School in various directions, but the thanks of the School are owing in an especial degree to Lord Granville, H.B.M. Minister in Athens, for his constant and helpful interest in its welfare; to the Greek Government for their continual support, and in particular to the Greek Archaeological Service, with special mention of Dr. Kourouniotes, Dr. Staës, and Dr. Keramopoulos; to Professor Tsountas for his unselfish courtesy in waiving his claim to Mycenae; to Dr. Philadelphos, Ephor of Argolis; and to Drs. Hazzidakis and Xanthoudides of Crete; to the Copais Company; to Mr. Cole, who not only gave his own services to the excavation, but presented a camera and other instruments. Last, but not least, to our friends and colleagues of the American School, the Director, the Assistant Director, and Mr. Seager, who, as in the past, have co-operated with us in the most friendly and ungrudging spirit.

**Finance.**—The Revenue Account for the year shows a debit balance of £369 5s. 7d. as compared with a credit balance of £399 9s. 7d. for the preceding year. The total amount of Annual Subscriptions is £673 14s. 6d. or just £100 more than for the preceding year. This includes an increased subscription of £20 for three years from the Governing Body of the McGill University.

Though this increase restores the Subscriptions more nearly to their pre-war level, they are still considerably below the figure of £900 which was reached and maintained in earlier years. Among the special donations is one of £100 from Mr. W. H. Buckler, and a grant of £50 from the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths.

No *Annual* has been published during the year, but an expenditure of £210 has been incurred in the purchase of paper and preparation of illustrations for the next volume. The sales of the last volume of the *Annual* have only brought in £85.

Expenditure during the year has been high. An Assistant Director with a salary of £200 has been added to the Staff and two Studentships costing £150 have been granted. The maintenance of the School and Hostel have necessarily cost more, though some of the increase is due to expenditure really incurred in the preceding year being included in this year's accounts.

The sum of £678 14s. 0d. has been spent in the purchase of the additional land alluded to in the last Report which has been charged to Capital Account. A further sum of about £325 is still required to complete the purchase but will be paid shortly.

The balance of the Macedonian Exploration Fund, amounting to £278 11s. 4d., which was subscribed in the year 1910, has been transferred to the School with the consent of the Subscribers, on the condition that it be applied for work in Macedonia under the direction of the School, as soon as there is a convenient opportunity.

In moving the adoption of the Report Mr. FISHER said :—

Though I can lay no claim to Greek scholarship I welcome the opportunity which this gathering affords me of demonstrating my interest in the work of the British School at Athens, now in the thirty-fourth years of its vigorous existence. And not least I am glad to be here because the recent abandonment of compulsory Greek at the two ancient Universities may appear to those who are not in close touch with educational movements in the country to denote something like the final eclipse of our long-sustained interest in the language and literature of ancient Greece. I do not deny the fact that a smattering of ancient Greek will be less widely diffused in the future than it has been in the past and that having lost the artificial support of examinations, the language will cease to be learned at all by a considerable number of young people who

a few years ago would have studied it, but to no great purpose. It is, however, important to notice that the abandonment of Greek as a compulsory subject in the Universities has not been occasioned by any of the influences to which the decline of an established branch of academic study is usually attributable. A mine is abandoned when it is worked out, and one might reasonably suppose that a branch of education would be dropped with the withering up of all belief in its utility. In general, studies die because they cease to correspond with any living need or to carry with them any message or because their interpretation has become lifeless and hieratic. None of these separate causes of paralysis have affected Greek learning in this country. On the contrary, it has never been so vital, never had so much to say, never since the fifteenth century offered so wide a scope to the discovering impulse as now, when the study of this ancient, beautiful, but difficult literature is no longer to be considered a passport to the ancient Universities. No. Greek has not been evicted for any cause discreditable to itself. On the contrary, the last thirty years have witnessed a wonderful renaissance of Greek studies, comparable in its richness and variety to the movement which we associate with the age of Aldus and Ficino.

And am I exaggerating when I claim that Great Britain has been the principal centre of this remarkable efflorescence of Hellenic scholarship, and that the work of the Hellenic Society has played no small part in the movement? Textual criticism has, of course, always thriven in this country. There was a time when to have edited a Greek play was reckoned to be a passport to a bishopric. But how many generations of English schoolboys have painfully plodded through their Euripides without ever realising that the plays of this writer were written for the stage and that they should be appraised for their dramatic as well as for their literary quality! The beautiful translations of Professor Murray and the frequent production of Greek plays in English renderings are making the spirit of Greek literature familiar to a much wider circle than was reached in the old days when a Greek play was regarded chiefly as the *corpus vile* upon which to exercise the arts of the grammarian. Indeed Greek disappears as a necessary study just when we have learned from a brilliant galaxy of poetically-minded scholars how rich a value it may possess as a discipline in literary taste and appreciation. This is not all. Fifty years ago we did not expect to make any startling new discoveries in the field of Hellenic studies. No one could have predicted that any notable addition would be made to our store of literary texts or that the outlines of ancient history would be seriously modified by antiquarian discovery. There was still room, of course, for fresh refinements of textual criticism, for a rearrangement of the mosaic of texts upon which the tradition of Greek history depended and a new source of valuable information was being tapped in the inscriptions; but nobody would deny that the law of diminishing returns had begun to operate and that the prospect seemed to offer little encouragement to the young man who was anxious to make a name by some original discovery. Then like a bolt from the blue came the finding by Sir Frederic Kenyon of

Aristotle's long lost treatise on the Athenian Constitution, and we began to realise that the papyri now made accessible to the archaeologist by reason of the British occupation of Egypt contained endless possibilities of discovery and surprise. The lost Bacchylides, the lost Menander, the lost sayings of Christ, the lost Herondas were in course of time retrieved by the industry and genius of English scholarship. Incidentally, the language of the New Testament received fresh illustration from the welcome discovery of contemporary writings, so that it is now possible to fix with greater certainty the exact shade of meaning to be attached to words and phrases which had previously been known only in a single context or in a narrow range of contexts. The late Dr. Rutherford's fresh and vigorous translation of certain famous passages from the writings of St. Paul is a foretaste of what we may expect from scholars possessed of this new Hellenistic learning.

Though many members of the Hellenic Society have contributed to these departments of discovery, the work of the British School at Athens is principally directed to the art and archaeology of ancient Greece. The older type of English Hellenist thought little of these occupations, and Jowett, who has done so much to spread a knowledge of Plato and Thucydides through his graceful translations, is reported to have summed up archaeology as a healthy amusement for a young man under a blue sky. Now the British School at Athens does, no doubt, provide healthy amusement for young men under a blue sky, but it does a great deal more besides. First, by attracting English scholars to make themselves really acquainted with the sites and scenes of ancient Hellas and with the actual tone and colour of modern Hellenic civilisation, it infuses a quickening spirit into their work of interpretation. Secondly, it has enabled valuable additions to be made to our knowledge of Greek history, of Greek art and of Greek religion. Thirdly, it provided this country at a very critical period of its history, with a body of trained men who knew the Levantine world, who could use the modern Greek tongue, and who, in a number of ways, proved themselves to be of special value in the Eastern theatre of the War.

Finally, the British School at Athens acts as a valuable link between modern Britain and modern Greece.

The British School at Athens is *not* a political institution, it is a good, honest workshop set down in a foreign city, not for any purpose of propaganda, but in the disinterested pursuit of knowledge. It can afford to invite, because it can confidently disarm, the criticism of the Greeks. A long list of distinguished alumni, lovers of Greece, contributing each in his own measure to the work of exhibiting the glories of her ancient civilisations, have passed through the School and made friends among the Greek people. The *Annual* of the School, in which for the most part their labours are recorded, has maintained since its beginning a level of exact and discerning scholarship which is warmly recognised by competent Hellenists all over the world. Wherever you travel in the Greek

world you are likely to find traces of the work of the British School at Athens. The leading share in the task of attributing the paintings on Greek vases to their several artists has been borne by a young Englishman; the discovery of the Dictæan cave is the work of an Englishman; the epoch-making revelations of the lost Minoan civilisation are due to the genius of an Englishman. The spade of our archaeologist subverts the most ancient and deeply-rooted preconceptions. I have just been reading an admirable sketch of Hellenistic sculpture from the pen of Mr. Guy Dickins, a brilliant young scholar who gave his life in the War and is notable as having written an original paper in the *Burlington Magazine* upon the art of Sparta, which shows that in the earliest stages of their settlement in Laconia the Dorians, so far from being exclusively concerned with setting up a military State, were a good deal more versatile than the literary tradition would allow.

On many grounds, therefore, it is to be hoped that the British School at Athens will continue to flourish—more particularly for the sake of classical studies in this country. I think that by general confession we have overdone the grammatical treatment of the classical authors in our schools. The newer, the fresher and the more profound way of handling the monuments of ancient Greek literature is to employ them, not merely as affording a training in the canons of literary taste, nor as material for grammatical discussion, but as one among many sources of information with respect to the life and progress of a great civilisation which has passed away, yet still continues to influence the world. Already our Greek studies are taking this direction. They are becoming less grammatical and more literary and historical and are making a more general appeal to the common interest of average students. They are, largely by reason of the discoveries of our archaeologists, exciting far more interest than ever before. We must not allow this flame to perish. On the contrary, I would suggest to the Universities that one true line of development lies here and that as the circle of schoolboy Hellenists contracts, more encouragement might be given to post-graduate work in Hellenic and Roman antiquities.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by Sir JAMES FRAZER and having been put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. P. DROOP moved the following resolution which was seconded by Dr. LEAF and carried unanimously :—

That Professor E. A. GARDNER, Professor R. M. DAWKINS, and Mr. M. N. TOD be re-elected, and that Mr. T. W. ALLEN and Mr. G. W. RENDEL be elected, Members of the Committee. That Mr. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Hon. Treasurer, and that Mr. MAURICE THOMPSON be elected Secretary of the School.

The Director of the School, Mr. A. J. B. WACE, then gave an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of the School excavations at Mycenae, which were further illustrated by a collection of the drawings made by Mrs. A. W. GOMME.

The proceedings closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by Sir ARTHUR EVANS and seconded by Mr. GEORGE MACMILLAN.

## THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1919-1920.

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3RD OCTOBER, 1919, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1920.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions due and received during the year . . . . .	673	14	6	House Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st, 1920) . . . . .	353	12	9
Subscriptions received for the year 1918-1919 . . . . .	3	1	0	Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st, 1920) . . . . .	457	9	1
Government Grant . . . . .	500	0	0	Salary—Director . . . . .	500	0	0
Interest on Investments to July 5th, 1920 . . . . .	210	0	0	Salary—Assistant Director . . . . .	200	0	0
Interest on Deposit . . . . .	13	9	11	Salary—Secretary . . . . .	40	0	0
Sale of Annuals (Vols. I.-XXII.) . . . . .	85	18	10	Publication of <i>Annual</i> . . . . .	210	14	2
Rents from Hostel . . . . .	231	5	1	Rent to September 30th, 1920 . . . . .	10	0	0
Special Donations for Excavations at Mycenae . . . . .	350	10	0	Printing, Postage, etc. . . . .	59	9	0
Balance being Excess of Expenditure over receipts . . . . .	369	5	7	Audit Fee . . . . .	5	5	0
	<u>£2,437</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>	Law Costs . . . . .	24	4	0
				Expenditure on Excavations . . . . .	426	10	11
				Studentships . . . . .	150	0	0
					<u>£2,437</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1919, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1920.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Donations as per list . . . . .	369	15	6	Library . . . . .	154	5	0
Special Donations as per list . . . . .	55	10	0	Purchase of Land . . . . .	678	14	0
Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Receipts . . . . .	407	13	6				
	<u>£832</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>£832</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>0</u>



BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1920.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance .	3	3	0	Investments—			
Anniversary Fund as per last Account .	289	0	6	£2,000 India 3% Stock at par)	4,850	0	0
The Gustav Sachs Trust Fund as per last Account .	143	19	5	£3,000 5% War Bonds at 95)			
Received during the year .	20	14	0	Cash at Bank .	572	4	0
				Sundry Debtors .	145	3	10
Macedonian Exploration Fund .	278	11	4				
Balance, representing the assets of the School other than land, buildings, furniture, and library, as per last Account .	5,608	18	8				
Less Balance of Reserve for the year .	369	5	7				
Less Balance of Capital Account .	407	13	6				
	4,831	19	7				
	£5,567	7	10				

Examined and found correct.

W. CRANSTOUN TODD.

3, Cannon Street, London, E.C. 4.

**Chartered Accountant**

### DONATIONS—1919-1920.

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, Lord	50	0	0
Anonymous	75	0	0
Beardmore, W., Ltd.	1	0	0
Buckler, W. H.	100	0	0
Burgess, Mrs.	2	0	0
Crowe, L.		10	6
Eumorfopoulos, G.	10	0	0
Farrant, G.		10	6
Goldsmiths' Company	50	0	0
Granville, Earl	16	16	0
Harrow-Bunn, Mrs.	5	5	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	25	0	0
Low, Miss	10	0	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
Sealey, Rev. F.		10	6
Sowels, F.	5	0	0
Tillyard, E. M. W.	3	3	0
Tillyard, Prof.	10	0	0
	£369	15	6

## SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR LIBRARY

Gordon, Oswald J. W. . . . .	10	10	0
Zaharoff, Sir B. . . . .	45	0	0
	<u>£55</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>

## SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR EXCAVATIONS AT MYCENAE.

	£	s.	d.
American School . . . . .	97	10	0
Audience at Lectures . . . . .	10	10	0
Cambridge University . . . . .	100	0	0
Chrousachi, Miss . . . . .	1	10	0
Crosfield, Sir A. . . . .	50	0	0
Gibraltar, Bishop of . . . . .	3	0	0
Granville, Earl . . . . .	15	0	0
Mackenzie, D. . . . .	5	0	0
Mela, Miss . . . . .	3	0	0
Oxford University . . . . .	50	0	0
Petrocochino, Miss L. . . . .	3	0	0
Petrocochino, Mrs. P. . . . .	3	0	0
Petsali, Miss . . . . .	3	0	0
Sakoraphou, Miss . . . . .	3	0	0
Vasiliadi, Mrs. . . . .	3	0	0
	<u>£350</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1919-1920.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Cambridge . . . . .	100	0	0
The University of Oxford . . . . .	50	0	0
The Hellenic Society . . . . .	100	0	0
The Leeds Library . . . . .	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford . . . . .	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford . . . . .	20	0	0
McGill University . . . . .	20	0	0
Nettleship Library . . . . .	1	0	0
St. John's College Library, Cambridge . . . . .	1	0	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne . . . . .	1	1	0
Westminster School Library . . . . .	1	1	0
Emmanuel College, Cambridge . . . . .	5	0	0
Society of Antiquaries . . . . .	5	5	■
University College, Reading . . . . .	1	0	0
Sydney University . . . . .	1	0	0
Carried forward . . . . .	<u>£337</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>
		Q 2	

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1919-1920 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	337	7	0
Abercromby, Lord	2	2	0
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Adcock, F. E.	1	0	0
Aldington, Mrs.	1	1	0
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T. C.	1	1	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	1	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. E. J.	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Blomfield, Sir R.	2	2	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Bridgeman, R.	2	0	0
Briggs, Miss M. G.	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Browne, Rt. Rev.			
Bishop G. F.	1	1	0
Buchanan, Miss	1	0	0
Buckler, W. H.	1	1	0
Burnet, J.	1	1	0
Burrows, Dr. R. M.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Buxton, A. F.	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Chance, A. F.	1	1	0
Christie, Miss A.	1	1	0
Chetwode, Rear-Ad. G.	1	1	0
Chetwode, Mrs.	1	1	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	0	0
Clauson, A. C.	1	1	0
Collingham, H.	1	1	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Constantinides, E.	2	0	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Dawes, Miss E. A. S.	2	2	0
Dawkins, R. M.	1	1	0
Dawkins, J. M.	3	0	0
Dickson, A. G. M.	1	17	0
Dickins, Mrs. G.	1	1	0
Doll, C. C. T.	2	2	0
Droop, J. P.	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Ellerman, Miss	1	1	0
Elliott, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Empedocles, Mrs. M.	1	1	0
Empedocles, Miss E.	1	1	0

Carried forward £402 9 0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	402	9	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, Sir A. J.	10	0	0
Farquhar, The Lady E.	1	1	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, A. J.	1	0	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Frazer, Sir J. G.	1	0	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Furieux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. A.	1	1	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Gerstley, Mrs. J.	1	1	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Griffith, F. L.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Hall, H. R.	1	1	0
Halliday, Miss C. H.	1	1	0
Halliday, W. R.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Hart, P.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. B.	1	1	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Hett, Capt. W. S.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, T. E.	1	1	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	5	5	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
Keim, Miss	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Lindley, Miss J.	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss M. E. H.	1	1	0
Low, Miss J. I.	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	2	2	0
McNeill, Mrs.	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Macmillan, W. E. F.	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	2	2	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Meikle, Mrs.	1	1	0

Carried forward £583 18 0

Brought forward	£	s.	d.	Brought forward	£	s.	d.
Miller, Rev. A.	583	18	0	Ridgeway, Prof. Sir W.	628	14	0
Miller, W.	1	1	0	Robinson, E. S. G.	1	1	0
Millingen, Mrs. Van	1	1	0	Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0	Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0	Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Moloney, W. J.	1	1	0	Salter, Mrs. H. de G.	1	1	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0	Sandys, Sir J. E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0	Sealey, Rev. F. L. W.	1	11	6
Negreponde, Miss	1	1	0	Seaman, Sir Owen	1	1	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0	Seeböhm, H. E.	1	1	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. S.	1	1	0	Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Ogden, Mrs. P.	2	2	0	Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Ormerod, H. A.	1	1	0	Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Palli, Mrs. F. L.	1	1	0	Tancock, Capt. A. C.	1	1	0
Pearson, Miss E. R.	1	0	0	Tod, M. N.	1	1	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	■	Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Pennant, Hon. Alice	1	1	0	Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	0	0	Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0	Wagner, H.	2	2	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.	1	1	0	Walker, J. S.	1	1	0
Petrocochino, D. P.	2	0	0	Walston, Sir C.	1	1	0
Pickard-Cambridge,				Ward, Sir A. W.	1	0	0
A. W.	1	0	0	Welch, F. B.	5	0	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0	Wells, J.	1	1	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0	Whibley, L.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0	Wilson, Major C. H. B.	1	1	0
Pryor, M. R.	1	0	0	Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
Pyddoke, Miss M.	1	1	0	Woodhouse, Prof. W. J.	1	1	0
Radford, Miss E.	1	1	0	Woodward, A. E. M.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0	Wright, C. T. H.	1	1	0
Richter, Miss G. M. A.	1	1	0	Wyndham, Hon. M.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0	Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Rendel, G. W.	2	2	0				
Carried forward	£628	14	0	Total	£673	14	6

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received during the year	675	14	6			
Paid in advance last year	4	4	0			
Less Paid in advance at date	3	3	0	679	18	6
Paid on account of the years						
1918-19	3	1	0			
				6	4	0
				£673	14	6

Subscriptions received during the year :—

For 1918-19, Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
" " University College, Reading	1	0	0
" " Buckler, W. H.	1	1	0
	£3	1	0

Subscriptions received in advance :—

Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Burnett, Sir J. J.	1	1	0
Seeböhm, H. E.	1	1	0
	£3	3	0



## ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

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The Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 25th, 1921, H.E. Monsieur JOHN GENNADIUS, G.C.V.O., in the Chair.

The Chairman of the Managing Committee, Mr. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, presented the following Report on their behalf for the Session 1920-1921 :—

In view of the serious financial position of the School at the opening of the session the Committee felt compelled to take the following measures :—

1. To increase the rent paid by students and others allowed to reside in the hostel, and to charge an entrance fee each session to residents and non-residents admitted to the privileges of the School.

2. To restrict in future the free distribution of the *Annual* to subscribers of £2 and upwards and to donors of £20 and upwards to the general funds of the School.

Subscribers of only £1 and donors of £10 will be enabled to purchase the *Annual* at a reduced rate.

3. To suspend publication of the *Annual* for one session.

A circular letter was sent to all subscribers and a public appeal was issued asking for increased financial assistance in order to enable the School to regain its pre-war condition. The Committee felt also that, until the general financial position was on a firmer basis, they would not be justified in issuing a special public appeal for an excavation fund. The extremely successful excavations at Mycenae, on which the Director is much to be congratulated, were consequently only made possible by grants from the managers of the Craven and Ireland Funds at Cambridge and Oxford respectively, by a donation from Mr. and Mrs. Lamb and by the timely generosity of Mr. Eumorfopoulos, who has promised further support for the ensuing campaign, and of Mr. Seager, who, not for the first time, has placed the School under a deep obligation to him.

The Government Grant of £500 per annum was renewed in the spring for a further five years, and a grant of £200 per annum for five years was received from the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851.

A bequest of £100 to be spent on improvements to the hostel or garden has been received from the executors of the late F. W. Hasluck.

The Committee feel that this bequest should be spent on some definite object, complete in itself and, if possible, connected with the library, which is so closely associated with him. They have therefore asked the Director to prepare plans and estimates for erecting a set of shelves in a bay of the library. If this scheme is eventually adopted, a small brass plate, with a suitable inscription, will be affixed to the shelves.

The position of the School as a whole has definitely improved during the past twelve months, and the Committee therefore feel justified in resuming publication of the *Annual*. The new volume, which is to be issued in the spring, will contain, in addition to reports on Mycenae and the other work of the School during the past session, the long-deferred publication of the excavations at Palaikastro.

Although the Committee consider that the success of the past session fully justifies confidence in the future, they nevertheless feel it their duty to impress on all subscribers that the financial needs of the School cannot fail to be a source of anxiety for the next few years; and that, until the position shows a considerable further improvement, the proper activities of the School must necessarily be curtailed.

The Committee desire to record with much regret the death during the past session of Mr. J. D. Bouchier, for so many years the able and gifted *Times* correspondent in the Balkan Peninsula. When resident in Athens he was always a helpful friend to the School and took a constant interest in its welfare.

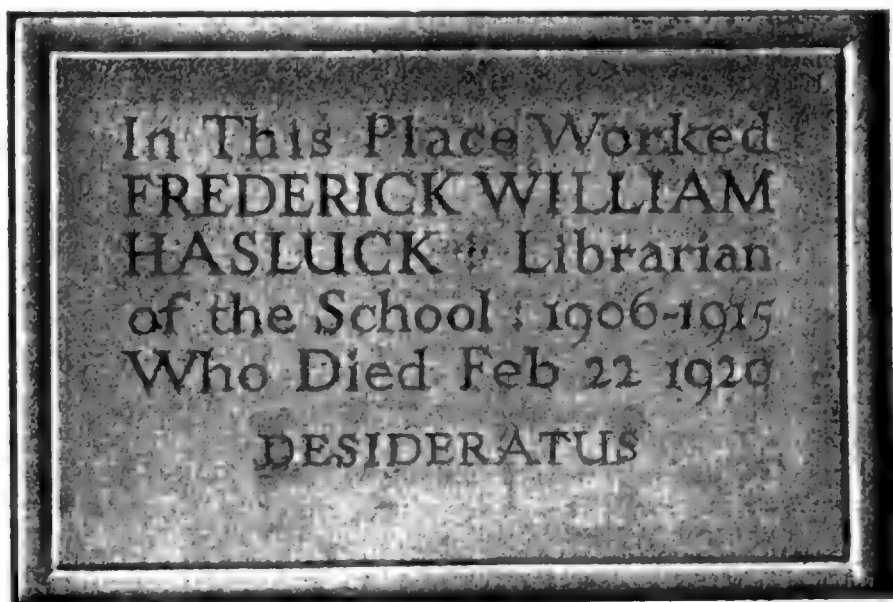
**War Memorial.**—The Memorial tablet was erected in the hall of the hostel and unveiled on January 13th, 1921, by Lady Granville, who quoted the following verse:—

“Sons of this place, let this of you be said,  
That you who live are worthy of your dead.  
These gave their lives that you who live may reap  
A richer harvest ere you fall asleep.”

The dedicatory prayers were read by the Rev. A. Hill, Chaplain to H.M. Legation, and there were also present H.M. Minister, Lord Granville and the staff of H.M. Legation, Admiral Kelly and the members of the British Naval Mission, General Hoare Nairne, Colonel Sir F. Halliday and the members of the Police Mission, many of the resident subscribers and the students of the School.

The position in which the tablet was first placed having proved unsatisfactory, arrangements are being made to re-erect it in a more central position in the hall, where it will show to better advantage.

**F. W. Hasluck Memorial.**—The Committee have decided to erect a memorial plaque to the late F. W. Hasluck in the Penrose Library. The plaque, which was designed by Mr. John Penoyre, and is of Portland stone, is shown in the accompanying illustration. It will be placed in position in the course of the ensuing Session.



**Director.**—The Director, being detained in England on business connected with the School, did not arrive in Athens until November 22nd. During the session he gave two courses of lectures, an elementary one on sculpture in the National Museum, and another on the Acropolis and other Athenian monuments for British and other foreign residents. In addition, in conjunction with Mr. C. W. Blegen, Assistant-Director of the American School, he gave a course on the Prehistoric Period in Greece for members of the two Schools and other archaeologists. At the invitation of the Museum authorities he, with Mr. Blegen, assisted by students of the School, rearranged pottery from the School's excavations at Phylakopi in Melos, now in the National Museum; and he also continued his study of the pottery of Mycenae.

Until the arrival of Mr. Casson in January a good deal of the Director's time was spent in work in the library and office, which had accumulated during the



summer. In February, in company with Mr. Blegen and Mr. Welch, he undertook a short journey to Thespieae, Thisbe, Thebes and Chalkis to study the Mycenaean pottery in the Museums of the two latter towns, to explore the Thisbe district and to examine the site at Rhitsona in view of Professor Ure's desire to resume his excavations there. In the course of this journey a hitherto unknown prehistoric site was discovered near Thespieae. In March, with Mr. Blegen, Miss Herford and Miss Lamb, he went to Corinth, St. Basil, Mycenae, Tiryns and Nauplia to make preparations for the excavations.

In early April he left with Mr. Blegen to begin the American excavations at Zygouries, and on the close of these excavations, towards the end of May, he proceeded to Mycenae to begin the School's excavations, which lasted until the end of July.

In addition, the Director has been busy throughout the session on the multifarious duties connected with his office, which have considerably increased since the war.

During the session he received an invitation to give a course of lectures at the Harvard Summer School, but was unable to accept, as the Committee felt that his services could not at the time be spared at Athens.

**Assistant-Director and Librarian.**—Mr. Casson, who, by the terms of his fellowship at New College has to reside one term in Oxford, did not arrive in Athens until January 15th, and left for England in early August. Of this period he spent one month travelling extensively in Thrace and Macedonia, where he carried out a trial excavation of a cemetery at Chauchitsa, near Doiran. The funds for this excavation were provided by the British Association, and the results were particularly important in respect of the Early Iron Age. A preliminary account of the journey was given at the recent meeting in Edinburgh.

For the remainder of his time Mr. Casson was occupied in work in the library and hostel, and in acting for the Director during the excavations at Mycenae and Zygouries.

The Committee desire to congratulate Mr. Casson on the publication of his edition of Vol. II of the *Acropolis Catalogue*.

**Students.**—This year there have been four women students, Miss M. A. B. Herford, Miss Winifred Lamb, Miss Lilian Chandler and Mrs. Hondius. The last devoted herself to the Greek flora; Miss Chandler, who held the Sachs' studentship, to a study of the Attic frontier and its fortresses; Miss Herford studied architectural terra-cottas and prehistoric pottery, and Miss Lamb undertook a study of the Mycenae frescoes for publication. Miss Lamb and Miss Herford both took part in the excavations at Mycenae, where they were of great assistance. All the four students travelled widely.

There were five men students, Messrs. Ashmole, Lucas and Wade Gery, and Drs. Hondius and Boethius. Dr. Hondius devoted himself to epigraphy, Mr. Ashmole to sculpture, Mr. Lucas to the topography of Pharsalos, Mr. Wade Gery to the history and topography of Sparta, and Dr. Boethius to Argive questions. All travelled much, and Dr. Boethius took part in the excavations at Mycenae, where he rendered valuable assistance.

**Open Meetings.**—A well attended meeting was held on April 6th, at which Mr. Ashmole read a paper on "The so-called 'Sardanapalus,'" and the Director a paper on Mycenae.

**The Penrose Library.**—The Library has been open throughout the session, and has been used, apart from students of the School, by members of other foreign Schools, Greek scholars and various other visitors.

The increasing use of the library, which is most satisfactory, has necessarily entailed more work for the staff, and it has consequently not yet been possible to overtake all the arrears of work that accumulated during the war. Considerable regrouping and rearrangement is needed to allow for the expansion of periodicals, and, despite the generosity of many donors, the list of *libri desiderati* is still large.

New shelves, in addition to those the Committee hope to be able to provide under the F. W. Hasluck bequest, will be absolutely necessary in the near future.

**The Finlay Library.**—Mr. F. B. Welch, in addition to his other services to the School, has continued his work on the Finlay Library, and has almost completed his most useful and voluntary task, for which he deserves the warmest thanks of the School.

**Hostel.**—The Hostel has been very full throughout the session. All the students resided in the Hostel, and also the Assistant-Director and Mr. Welch; others whom we were glad to accommodate were Mr. Austin Harrison of the R.I.B.A., Messrs. Clarke and Armstrong of Balliol College, Mr. Woolley and Prof. Woodhouse and his family.

**Garden.**—This has been kept in fair condition throughout the Session. The pine trees round the Hostel have been thinned, and it is hoped that this will lessen the danger of fire and enable the remaining trees to grow better. The tennis court has been very much in use, and it should now be re-surfaced.

**Excavations.**—The School's excavations at Mycenae are described below. Other excavations were carried out by Professor Ure, assisted by his wife, at Rhitsona in continuation of the work begun there by himself and the late

Dr. Burrows. Mr. Casson, as already described, conducted a trial excavation at Chauchitsa in Macedonia with funds provided by the British Association.

The new wheel-barrows and the two jacks provided for the excavation equipment did excellent work at Mycenae, and the jacks were most useful in shifting Cyclopean blocks. In most respects the excavation equipment has now been made up, but a theodolite would be extremely useful for survey work and also a first-class half-plate camera with a strong stand. Some portable photographic outfit to enable plates to be developed at the excavations would also be most valuable.

*Excavations at Mycenae.*—The excavations began on May 22nd and were continued until the end of July. The Director was in charge throughout and was assisted by Mr. C. W. Blegen, the Assistant-Director of the American School. Miss Lamb and Miss Herford both gave valuable help, the former taking charge of the excavation of the palace. Dr. Boethius, who was in charge of the tombs, also gave much assistance with photography. Mr. L. Holland, architect of the American School, prepared the new plan of the palace and Mr. de Jong, a former student of the British School at Rome, completed the plan of the Grave Circle begun by Mr. Cole in 1920, and made a series of drawings of the frescoes and vases discovered during the excavation.

Of members of the School Miss Chandler, Mr. Welch, Mr. Wade Gery, and Mr. Casson, the Assistant-Director, paid short visits. Mr. Hill, the Director, and other members of the American School, and representatives of the French School, also came to see the work in progress.

Every facility was granted by the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction: Mr. Theophanides acted as government representative during the excavations, Dr. Keramopoulos, Ephor of Argolis, paid several visits, and at the close of the work Dr. Balanos came to inspect the walls and tholos tombs, and to consult with the Director about necessary repairs.

The work undertaken this season consisted of supplementary excavations on the Acropolis, and a search for tombs.

On the Acropolis the Ramp House, which is south of the Grave Circle, appears to have been of the megaron type and to belong to the third Late Helladic Period (1400-1100 B.C.) of Mr. Wace. Underneath it was found a complex of ruined walls of the first and second Late Helladic Periods, and among these were found fragments of frescoes. On some of the better frescoed fragments designs of waving reeds can be traced; and many fragments were also found imitating wood graining.

Still lower down were a few remains of the Middle Helladic Period, and three, or perhaps six, empty graves cut in the soft rock. These help to confirm the view that the Grave Circle is only part of a cemetery which, before the replanning of the city in the fourteenth century B.C., occupied the side of the hill.

On the summit of the Acropolis the palace site was cleared, and the plan of the later palace can now be ascertained. It appears to have been a much larger building than the earlier palace, with a large court, lighting the rooms and corridors looking on to it: two entrances, a large columnar hall with storerooms, staircases, and was at least two stories in height.

The exact plan of the western entrance is uncertain, but the southern stairway, which was discovered by Tsountas, can now be traced in detail. It was lit by a window and consisted of two broad flights of steps with entrance lobbies and landings, which recall its predecessor at Knossos; it led through an ante-chamber into an apartment which may have served the same purpose as the Throne Room at Knossos. Another doorway opens on to a court whence, through a columned porch, one approached the Great Hall.

Numerous fragments of painted plaster were found while clearing the palace; most of these were much damaged by fire, but it is hoped that with care and skill it may be possible to trace many of the designs. As it is, a female figure with auburn hair standing against an elaborate architectural background has already been made out.

A close examination of the Lion Gate revealed many interesting points. The relief of the lions itself seems to have been cut out in the hard limestone by saw and drill; the straight lines being saw cuts and the curved lines a succession of drill holes. The lions' heads, which were of some other material, were quite probably in steatite, and not in metal as is usually suggested. The Gateway itself, from the existence of dowel holes, appears to have been roofed over inside.

The search for tombs was also most successful. By the side of the carriage road to the south of the Treasury of Atreus, where Tsountas had excavated three tombs, three more were found. They were ordinary chamber tombs cut in the soft rock of the hillside, with unroofed entrance passages of varying length according to the size of the tomb. In the case of the smallest, the entrance passage is very short and the chamber barely large enough to contain a man sitting down. In it was found one skeleton huddled up on the floor, and with it seven terra-cotta statuettes and a carnelian sealstone showing a man in the act of vaulting over a bull, while above his head is a sign resembling one of the characters of the Cretan script. The second tomb, which had been used more than once, contained the remains of four or five skeletons. The largest of the three tombs has an entrance passage over ninety feet in length, and at the door of the chamber the floor is over thirty feet from the surface. In the passage were numerous fragments of vases and the remains of at least sixteen skeletons. The tomb chamber has not yet been cleared and has been left for next session.

Another cemetery was found on the Kalkani hill. The tombs in this cemetery, which go back to the beginning of the Late Helladic Age, have

rough-hewn passages leading to a rock shelter rather than a well-cut chamber tomb. Among many interesting finds of vases, ornaments and sealstones from this cemetery, two sealstones are of special interest. Both are almost identical in design, and portray the goddess, in low bodice and typical flounced skirt, standing erect between rampant lions. Above her head is a double axe and curving forth from her head on either side are two snakes.

The complete excavation of this cemetery, which had to be postponed till next session, will, it is hoped, produce more finds of similar, if not greater, interest.

The general result of the session's excavations has been to show that the Mycenaean Age, so far from being an age of decadence, was one of high technical skill, in which considerable progress was made in engineering and building construction.

**Prospects of Next Session.**—As regards excavations, it is proposed to continue the work at Mycenae, where the South House and neighbouring area still await clearance. In the cemeteries the tombs found this year should be dug out and also the unexcavated tholos tomb between the tomb of Clytemnestra and the Acropolis. This work and the study of the material already found and the preparation of reports for publication will take up most of the time.

**Acknowledgments.**—Finally, there remains the pleasant duty of thanking the many friends who have helped us during the session just ended. First, we wish to record our increased debt to the Greek Archaeological Service, of which Dr. Kyparisses is now the head; to Dr. Staes, Director of the National Museum; to Dr. Svoronos, Director of the Coin Cabinet, and to the Ephors Drs. Hatsidakis, Kastriotes, Keramopoulos, Xanthoudides, Papadakis, Philadelphes, and Pelekides, who have, as always, readily and most courteously helped the School and its students. We are also very grateful to Dr. Balanos for the keen interest he has shown in the work of conservation at Mycenae, and to Professor Tsountas for his friendship and unselfishness in promoting our excavations at Mycenae.

We also would express our renewed thanks to the Greek Railways administration and its directors, Messrs. Matsas and Zochios, for granting to students of the School the privilege of travelling at half fare on Greek Railways. This concession came into force during the session, and has been of very great assistance to the students.

With our near neighbours, the American School, our relations have been, if possible, more cordial than ever; and we are deeply indebted to their staff, Messrs. Hill, Blegen and Holland, for their kindness in allowing us to participate in various archaeological excursions and to assist at their excavation at Zygories. Mr. Seager's renewed proof of his friendship has already been mentioned.

Our relations with the French and Italian Schools are also on the best possible footing, and it is to be hoped that the present friendly co-operation between all the schools will long continue.

Lord Granville, H.M. Minister, has never ceased to show his deep concern for the welfare of the School, and has done much to help it; to him and to his staff, and to Lady Granville, we are most grateful. Mr. Knight and Mr. Eliades, the Consular officers at Volos and Candia, have been most kind in helping members of the School in their travels.

Mr. P. De Jong, former architectural student of the British School at Rome, who gave most welcome help at Mycenae, and Mr. F. B. Welch, who, as always, has helped in a hundred different ways, also deserve the Committee's heartiest thanks. Mention must also be made of Mr. S. C. Atchley's generous gift to the School of any of his books which are wanting in the Penrose or Finlay Libraries; this gift includes many valuable works on Greece and a good collection of Byroniana which it is proposed to unite with the Finlay Byroniana and keep as a separate collection.

A very generous gift of books has also been received from Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Milne, and among others to whom the library has been indebted for books during the session are: the Hon. Margaret Wyndham, Mrs. Dickins, Miss Hutton, Miss Hall, Miss Herford and Miss Lamb, Sir B. Zaharoff, Professors Bury, Dawkins, Studniczka, Hiller von Gaertringen and Toynbee, Messrs. Kinch, Nilsson, Triandaphyllidis, Luke, Hogarth, Boethius, Andreades, V. W. Yorke, G. F. Hill, C. L. Woolley, Orlandos, Soteriou and Hatsidakis; the Greek Archaeological Society, the Cambridge University Press, the Byzantine Fund, the Hellenic Society, the Government of India and the Trustees of the British Museum.

**Finance.**—The Revenue Account for the year shows a credit balance of £272 3s. 2d., as compared with a debit balance of £369 5s. 7d. for the preceding year. The total amount of Annual Subscriptions is £795 5s., or £122 more than for the preceding year. Donations, however, are less by £97, so that the ordinary receipts show but a very trifling improvement in spite of the issue, during the year, of a circular to the friends of the School appealing for further support.

The cost of the excavations at Mycenae has been almost entirely defrayed by the special donations which have been forthcoming for this work.

The purchase of land alluded to in the last report has been completed during the year.

In moving the adoption of the report Mons. GENNADIUS congratulated the School on the way in which despite all difficulties it had already begun to resume its pre-war activities. It was his firm conviction that together with Classical Studies the School would revive like the Phoenix.

It was his duty to bring to their notice that a debit balance of £369 for the preceding year had been turned into a credit balance of £272. He must remind them, however, that this had only been accomplished by restricting the scope of the School, and by suspending publication of the *Annual*. Additional financial support would be urgently required for the next few years; there was still a heavy debt to pay to King Agamemnon, who, however, promised a rich return if all the treasures of his ancient stronghold were brought to light.

Time did not allow him to refer in detail to the results already obtained by Mr. Wace in his excavations at Mycenae; but he might safely say without fear of exaggeration that these excavations vied with those of Dr. Schliemann on the same spot in the importance of their results.

He was particularly gratified to notice that the Greek authorities had rendered every possible assistance in their power to the School; that was a wise and generous policy which he felt sure his fellow countrymen would continue to observe.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by Sir FREDERIC KENYON and having been put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

Mr. R. C. BOSANQUET moved the following motion which was seconded by Miss HUTTON and carried unanimously :—

That Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Sir CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH and Mr. D. G. HOGARTH be re-elected members of the Committee. That Mr. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Honorary Treasurer and that Mr. M. S. THOMPSON be re-elected Secretary of the School.

Miss WINIFRED LAMB, on behalf of the Director, gave an account illustrated by lantern slides of the School excavations at Mycenae.

Certain points raised in this paper were discussed by Sir ARTHUR EVANS.

Mr. S. CASSON, Librarian and Assistant-Director, then gave an account of his excavation of an Early Iron Age cemetery at Chauchitsa in Macedonia.

The proceedings closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman moved by Mr. GEORGE MACMILLAN and seconded by Sir ARTHUR EVANS.

## THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1920-1921.

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3RD OCTOBER, 1920, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1921.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received during the year . . . . .	795	9	0	House Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st, 1921) . . . . .	113	5	11
Subscriptions received for the years 1916-1918 . . . . .	2	0	0	Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st, 1921) . . . . .	249	8	6
Subscriptions received for the year 1918-1919 . . . . .	2	1	0	Salary—Director . . . . .	500	0	0
Subscriptions received for the year 1919-1920 . . . . .	10	2	0	Salary—Assistant Director . . . . .	150	0	0
Government Grant . . . . .	500	0	0	Salary—Secretary . . . . .	50	0	0
Grant by the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 . . . . .	200	0	0	Publication of <i>Annual</i> . . . . .	402	19	11
Interest on Investments to July 5th, 1921 . . . . .	210	0	0	Rent . . . . .	10	0	0
Interest on Deposit . . . . .	14	2	9	Printing, Postage, etc. . . . .	116	12	11
Sale of Annuals (Vols. I.-XXIII.) . . . . .	83	11	2	Audit Fee . . . . .	5	5	0
Rents from Hostel . . . . .	216	5	9	Expenditure on War Memorial . . . . .	17	1	0
Special Donations for Excavations at Mycenae . . . . .	428	5	0	Expenditure on Excavations at Mycenae . . . . .	475	0	3
Special Donation for Exploration in Macedonia . . . . .	50	0	0	Expenditure on Exploration in Macedonia . . . . .	50	0	0
				Studentships . . . . .	100	0	0
				Balance being Excess of Receipts over Expenditure . . . . .	272	3	2
	<u>£2,511</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>		<u>£2,511</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1920, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1921.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Donations as per list . . . . .	272	6	6	Library . . . . .	93	12	3
Legacy . . . . .	100	0	0	Purchase of land . . . . .	331	1	1
Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Receipts . . . . .	52	6	10				
	<u>£424</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>		<u>£424</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>





## DONATIONS.

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## DONATIONS—1920-1921.

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, Lord . . . . .	50	0	0
Brasenose College . . . . .	5	0	0
Bridgeman, R. . . . .	20	0	0
Chance, A. F. . . . .	10	0	0
Chitty, Miss . . . . .		7	6
Comyn, H. . . . .	1	1	0
Cooper, G. . . . .	1	0	0
Corfe, Colonel . . . . .	3	3	0
Cottrell, Captain . . . . .	1	1	0
Currelly, C. T. . . . .	1	10	0
Dawkins, Prof. R. . . . .	20	0	0
Debenham, E. R. . . . .	25	0	0
Doll, C. T. T. . . . .	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H. . . . .	5	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, G. . . . .	20	0	0
Farquhar, Miss H. . . . .	1	1	0
Farrell, W. J. . . . .	20	0	0
Gardner, R. . . . .	1	1	0
Hartsilver, J. . . . .	1	0	0
Hutton, Miss C. A. . . . .	25	0	0
Ionian Bank, Ltd. . . . .	10	0	0
Kelly, Vice-Admiral . . . . .	2	0	0
Lake Copais Co., Ltd. . . . .	8	0	0
Low, Miss J. . . . .	20	0	0
Lushington, Miss S. . . . .	1	0	0
Nairne, Mrs. . . . .	1	1	0
Queen's College (Oxford) . . . . .	5	0	0
Sheffield University . . . . .	5	0	0
Thompson, M. S. . . . .	5	0	0
Todd H. G. . . . .	1	1	0
Woodhouse, Prof. . . . .	1	0	0
For the Library . . . . .		19	0
	<hr/> £272 6 6 <hr/>		

## SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR EXCAVATIONS AT MYCENAE.

	£	s.	d.
Adcock, F. E. . . . .	5	0	0
Ashmole, B. . . . .	3	3	0
Atchley, S. E. . . . .	10	0	0
Carey, Miss E. . . . .	1	1	0
Dodd, C. . . . .	2	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, G. . . . .	100	0	0
Lamb, Mr. and Mrs. . . . .	50	0	0
Nairne, Mrs. . . . .	1	1	0
Negreponte, Miss . . . . .	10	0	0
Pickering, T. E. . . . .	5	0	0
Seager, R. B. . . . .	100	0	0
University of Cambridge (Craven Fund) . . . . .	150	0	0
Walston, Sir C. . . . .	5	0	0
Woodhouse, Prof. . . . .	5	0	0
	<hr/> £428 5 0 <hr/>		

## SPECIAL DONATION FOR EXPLORATION IN MACEDONIA.

	£	s.	d.
The British Association (Section H. per Prof. Sir W. Ridgeway) . . . . .	50	0	0

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1920-1921.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Cambridge . . . . .	100	0	0
The University of Oxford . . . . .	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society . . . . .	100	0	0
The Leeds Library . . . . .	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford . . . . .	30	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford . . . . .	20	0	0
McGill University . . . . .	20	0	0
St. John's College Library . . . . .	2	0	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne. . . . .	1	1	0
Westminster School Library . . . . .	1	1	0
Emmanuel College, Cambridge . . . . .	5	0	0
Society of Antiquaries . . . . .	5	5	0
University College, Reading . . . . .	2	0	0
Sydney University . . . . .	1	0	0
London Library . . . . .	2	0	0
King's College, Cambridge . . . . .	10	0	0
Balliol College Library . . . . .	3	3	0
University of Sheffield . . . . .	2	0	0

Carried forward £415 10 0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward 415 10 0			
Abercromby, Lord . . . . .	2	2	0
Adcock, F. E. . . . .	1	0	0
Aldington, Mrs. . . . .	1	1	0
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Allen, T. W. . . . .	1	1	0
Anderson, James . . . . .	1	1	0
Armitage, Prof. E. . . . .	1	1	0
Ashby, Thomas . . . . .	1	1	0
Ashmole, B. . . . .	2	2	0
Bailey, C. . . . .	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C. . . . .	1	0	0
Barber, E. A. . . . .	1	1	0
Barlow, Sir T. . . . .	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. E. J. . . . .	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M. . . . .	2	2	0
Bentinck, C. . . . .	1	1	0
Bevan, E. R. . . . .	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs. . . . .	1	1	0
Blomfield, Sir R. . . . .	2	2	0
Booty, Mrs. . . . .	1	1	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C. . . . .	1	1	0
Bridgeman, R. O. . . . .	2	0	0
Briggs, Miss M. G. . . . .	2	2	0
Brooks, E. W. . . . .	1	0	0
Browne, Rt. Rev. . . . .			
Bishop G. F. . . . .	1	1	0
Buchanan, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Buckler, W. H. . . . .	1	1	0
Burnet, Sir J. J. . . . .	1	1	0

Carried forward £450 18 0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward 450 18 0			
Bury, Prof. J. B. . . . .	1	1	0
Buxton, A. F. . . . .	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss H. . . . .	1	1	0
Chance, A. F. . . . .	1	1	0
Chapman, Miss . . . . .	1	1	0
Chetwode, Rear Adm. G. . . . .	3	0	0
Christie, Miss A. . . . .	1	1	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B. . . . .	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C. . . . .	1	1	0
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Dickson, Miss M. . . . .	1	1	0
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Furneaux, L. R. . . . .	1	0	0
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Tancock, Capt. A. C.	1	1	0	Whatley, W.	2	0	0
Tillyard, E. M. W.	1	0	0	Whibley, Leonard	1	0	0
Tod, M. N.	2	0	0	Wilson, Lt.-Col. C. H.			
Tuke, Miss	2	1	0	B.	1	1	0
Ure, P. N.	2	0	0	Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
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Walker, J. S.	2	0	0	Woodward, A. M.	1	1	0
Walker, Mrs. J. S.	1	0	0	Wright, C. T. H.	1	1	0
Walston, Sir C.	1	1	0	Wyndham, Hon. M.	1	1	0
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Carried forward	£773	0	0	Total	£795	9	0

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 Pease, Wilson, Esq., 22, Mount Street, W. 1.  
 Penoyre, John, Esq., C.B.E., 8, King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple, E.C. 4.  
 Penrose, Miss E., M.A., Somerville College, Oxford.  
 Pesel, Miss Louisa, Glebe Field, Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey.  
 Petrocchino, D. P., Esq., C.B.E., 25, Rue de Timoleon, Athens.

- Piddington, J. G., Esq., c/o Messrs. Scott, Bell, & Co., 15, Queen Street, E.C. 4.  
 Pollock, The Right Hon. Sir F., Bart., 21, Hyde Park Place, W. 2.  
 Powell, Miss E., The Library, Somerville College, Oxford.  
 Provost, The, of Eton, The College, Eton.  
 Pyddoke, Miss Mary, T.S. "Cornwall," Purfleet, Essex.  
 Rackham, H. Esq., 18, Hobson Street, Cambridge.  
 Radford, Miss E., St. Anthony, nr. Portscatho, Cornwall.  
 Ralli, P., Esq., 17, Belgrave Square, S.W. 1.  
 Ralli, Mrs. S., St. Catherine's Lodge, Hove, Sussex.  
 Reid, Prof. J. S., Litt.D., Caius College, Cambridge.  
 Rendall, The Rev. G. H., Litt.D., Dedham House, Dedham, Essex.  
 Rendel, G. W., Esq., c/o Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.  
 Ridgeway, Prof. Sir W., Fen Ditton, Cambridge.  
 Road, Paymaster Commander, R.H.N., British Naval Mission, Ministry of Marine, Athens.  
 Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys, The University, Leeds.  
 Robinson, E. S. G., Esq., 34, Kensington Park Road, W. 11.  
 Rodd, Sir Rennell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 25, Cavendish Square, W. 1.  
 Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., The Durdans, Epsom.  
 Rothschild, Messrs. N. M., and Sons, New Court, E.C. 2.  
 Rothschild, The Lord, 148, Piccadilly, W. 1.  
 Rotton, Sir J. F., Lockwood, Frith Hill, Godalming.  
 Salter, Mrs., 2, Campden Hill Gardens, W. 8.  
 Saumarez, The Right Hon. Lord de, Shrubland Park, Coddenham, Suffolk.  
 Scott, C. P., Esq., The Firs, Fallowfield, Manchester.  
 Scouloudi, Étienne, Esq., Athens, Greece.  
 Seaman, Sir Owen, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.  
 Seebohm, Hugh, Esq., Poynder's End, Hitchin.  
 Sharpe, Miss C., 1, Windmill Hill, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Shove, Miss E., 30, York Street Chambers, Bryanston Square, W. 1.  
 Sikes, E. E., Esq., St. John's College, Cambridge.  
 Simpson, W. W., Esq., Winkley, Whalley.  
 Sloane, Miss E. J., 13, Welford Road, Leicester.  
 Smith, A. H., Esq., British Museum, W.C. 1.  
 Smith, Admiral A. Hugh, Naval Mission, Athens.  
 Smith, Sir Cecil Harcourt-, C.V.O., LL.D., 62, Rutland Gate, S.W. 7.  
 Sowels, F., Esq., The Rookery, Thetford, Norfolk.  
 Spencer, Lt.-Commr., Naval Mission, Athens.  
 Stocker, Commr., Naval Mission, Athens.  
 Tancock, Capt. A. D., c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Charing Cross, W.C. 2.  
 Thompson, H. Y., Esq., 19, Portman Square, W. 1.  
 Thompson, M. S., Esq., The Croft, Reigate Heath.  
 Tillyard, E. M. W., Esq., The Brook, Sawston, Cambridge.  
 Tillyard, Prof. H. J. W., The University, Birmingham.  
 Tod, M. N., Esq., O.B.E., Oriel College, Oxford.  
 Tuke, Miss Margaret, Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.  
 Vince, J. H., Esq., Esp Hall, Ulpha, Cumberland.  
 Wace, Mrs., Leslie Lodge, 1, Avenue Road, St. Albans.  
 Wagner, H., Esq., 13, Half Moon Street, W. 1.  
 Walker, J. S., Esq., 6, Odos Kriezotou, Athens.  
 Walston, Sir Charles, Litt.D., Newton Hall, nr. Cambridge.  
 Ward, Sir A. W., Master of Peterhouse College, Cambridge.  
 Wardle, Rear-Admiral, Naval Mission, Athens.  
 Welch, F. B., Esq., British Legation, Athens.  
 Wells, J., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.  
 West, H. H., Esq., The Chase, Lower Bourne, Farnham, Surrey.  
 Whibley, Leonard, Esq., Pembroke College, Cambridge.  
 Wigram, Rev. Dr. W. A., D.D., Watling House, St. Albans.  
 Withers, J. J., Esq., Howard House, 4, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C. 2.  
 Witt, Miss, 16, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 1.  
 Woodhouse, Prof. W. J., The University, Sydney, N.S.W.  
 Woodward, A. M., Esq., British School, Athens.  
 Woodward, W. H., Esq., Burlington Fine Arts Club, 17, Savile Row, W. 1.  
 Wyndham, Hon. Margaret, 12, Great Stanhope Street, W. 1.  
 Yorke, V. W., Esq., Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C. 4.  
 Zimmermann, A. E., Esq., Oakhill Drive, Surbiton.

## DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1922.

F. C. PENROSE, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., 1886—1887.

ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A., 1887—1895.

CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH, LL.D., C.V.O., 1895—1897.

DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A. C.M.G., 1897—1900.

R. CARR BOSANQUET, M.A., 1900—1906.

R. McG. DAWKINS, M.A., 1906—1914.

A. J. B. WACE, M.A., 1914—

## HONORARY STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1922.

Prof. J. B. Bury. LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.	King's College, Cambridge. Elected 1895.
Sir Arthur J. Evans. LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.	Late Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Elected 1895.
Prof. J. Linton Myres. M.A.	A former Student of the School. Elected 1896.
Prof. Ernest Gardner. Litt.D.	Formerly Director of the School. Elected 1897.
*Prof. A. van Millingen. M.A., D.D.	Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904.
*W. H. Forbes. M.A.	Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906.
Prof. W. J. Woodhouse.	Professor in the University of Sydney. Formerly Student of the School. Elected 1908.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Director of the School. Late Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at the University of St. Andrews. Elected 1912.
J. D. Beazley. M.A.	Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. Elected 1914.
E. N. Gardiner. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Elected 1914.
Prof. R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Hon. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Formerly Director of the School. Elected 1914.
*F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Formerly Assistant Director and Librarian of the School. Elected 1915.

\* Deceased.

# STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.<sup>1</sup>

1886—1922.

Ernest A. Gardner. Litt.D.	Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Yates Professor of Archaeology and Public Orator in the University of London. Admitted 1886—87 as Cambridge and Craven University Student. Director of the School, 1887—1895. Hon. Student of the School.
David G. Hogarth. M.A., D.Litt., C.M.G.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Director of the School 1897—1900. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
*Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks, and Rural Dean of Wendover. Admitted 1886—87.
F. H. H. Guillemard. M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost of Eton. Late Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University, Cambridge.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, University College, London. Appointed to Studentship of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
R. W. Schultz Weir (R. Weir Schultz).	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Craven University Fellow. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
Sir J. G. Frazer. LL.D., D.C.L.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
†William Loring. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Secretary of the School, 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

<sup>1</sup> \* Before a name signifies "deceased." † Signifies "died on Active Service." For the war-service, military and otherwise, rendered by Students of the School, see Vol. XXIII, p. viii.

† Died of wounds, October 22nd, 1915.

- W. J. Woodhouse. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889-90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891-92 and 1892-93. Re-admitted 1908, 1921. Honorary Student of the School.
- G. C. Richards. M.A. Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889-90. Re-admitted 1890-91.
- O. H. Parry. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of All Hallows, East India Dock. Formerly Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889-90.
- J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.L. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889-90.
- \*R.A.H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889-90.
- A. G. Bather. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Late Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889-90. Re-admitted 1891-92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1892-93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893-94, as Cambridge Student.
- E. E. Sikes. M.A. Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890-91.
- J. G. Milne. M.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890-91.
- H. Stuart-Jones. M.A. Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890-91. Re-admitted 1892-93.
- Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). Life Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890-91.
- F. Brayne Baker. M.A. Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891-92.
- C. C. Inge. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of St. Giles', Oxford. Appointed 1891-92 to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. F. Benson. B.A. King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891-92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892-93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893-94 as Craven Student; and 1894-95 as Prendergast Student.
- J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith). Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891-92. Re-admitted 1895-96.
- V. W. Yorke. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Hon. Treasurer of the School. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted 1893-94.

- J. L. Myres. M.A. Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.
- R. J. G. Mayor. M.A., C.B. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.
- R. C. Bosanquet. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Late Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1895—96 and 1896—97.
- Sir J. M. Cheetham. M.A., K.C.M.G. Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
- E. R. Bevan. M.A. New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
- A. F. Findlay. M.A. Sent out as holder of Brown-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894—95.
- J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D. Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Minister of Kirkmichael, Ballindalloch, N.B. Admitted 1894—95.
- J. E. Brooks. M.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
- \*H. Awdry. M.A. New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
- Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna). Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
- Archibald Paterson. University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
- C. R. Rowland Clark. Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
- C. C. Edgar. B.A. Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
- F. R. Earp. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
- \*F. A. C. Morrison. M.A. Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
- H. H. West. M.A. Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
- Miss C. A. Hutton. Girton College, Cambridge. Hon. Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Admitted 1896—97.

- J. G. C. Anderson. M.A. Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896-97.
- J. W. Crowfoot. M.A. Brasenose College, Oxford. Director of Education, Sudan Government. Formerly Inspector in the Ministry of Education, Cairo. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896-97. Re-admitted 1897-98.
- W. W. Reid. B.D. Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Minister of the Church of Scotland, Dumbarton, N.B. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896-97.
- A. E. Henderson. F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A. Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897-98. Admitted 1897-98. Re-admitted 1898-99, 1901-2, and 1902-3.
- W. A. Curtis. D.Litt., D.D. (Edin.). Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh. Formerly Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen. Admitted 1897-98.
- A. J. Spilsbury. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Head Master of Wakefield Grammar School. Formerly Senior Classical Master, City of London School. Admitted 1897-98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. B. Hoare. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897-98, as Architectural Student.
- J. C. Lawson. M.A. Fellow, Tutor and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898-99. Re-admitted 1899-1900.
- C. D. Edmonds. M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Berkhamstead School. Formerly at Aldenham School and at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898-99.
- Sir John H. Marshall, Kt. C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A. Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898-99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student, 1900-1, Craven Student, 1901-2.
- \*Clement Gutch. M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898-99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
- F. B. Welch. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vice-Consul, Athens. Formerly Head Master of Wadham House Prep. School, Hale, Cheshire. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898-99. Re-admitted 1899-1900.
- T. D. Atkinson. F.R.I.B.A. Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely, to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, and to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898-99.
- J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt. Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Assistant in the University Observatory, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898-99.

- J. H. Hopkinson. M.A. University College, Oxford. Vicar of Burnside, Kendal. Formerly Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—1.
- Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith). Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
- D. Theodore Fyfe. F.R.I.B.A. Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Chester. Master of the School of Architecture, Cambridge. Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
- † K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S. Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer at the Queen's University, Belfast. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—1.
- R. D. Wells. M.A., F.R.I.B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—1.
- John Penoyre. M.A., C.B.E. Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British School at Athens, 1905—1919. Admitted 1900—1. Re-admitted 1906—7, 1907—8.
- Marcus N. Tod. M.A., O.B.E. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—4. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901—2.
- \* F. W. Hasluck. M.A. Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School from 1906—1915. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship 1901—2. Re-admitted 1902—3, 1904—5, 1905—6. Honorary Student of the School.
- C. Heaton Comyn. F.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—2. Re-admitted 1903—4.
- Miss H. L. Lorimer. Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—2. Re-admitted 1910—11, 1921—22.
- Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn. Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—2.
- A. P. Oppé. B.A. New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Sometime Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrews University. Lecturer in Ancient History at Edinburgh University. Deputy Director and Secretary Victoria and Albert Museum. Admitted 1901—2.
- W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—3.
- C. T. Currelly. M.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C. Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4.
- R. McG. Dawkins. M.A. Hon. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Bywater Professor of Modern Greek in the University of Oxford. Director of the School from 1906—14. School Student. Admitted as Craven Student, 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4, 1904—5, 1905—6.

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\* Deceased.

† Killed in action, September 4th, 1914.



- E. S. Forster.  
M.A., F.S.A., M.B.E. Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902-3. Re-admitted 1903-4, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
- A. J. B. Wace. M.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge. Director of the School. Formerly Fellow of Pembroke College. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at University of St. Andrews. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Admitted 1902-3. Re-admitted 1903-4, 1904-5, 1905-6, 1906-7, 1907-8, 1908-9, 1909-10, 1910-11, 1911-12. Honorary Student of the School.
- †E. W. Webster. M.A. Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy 1904. Admitted 1902-3.
- J. B. Fulton. A.R.I.B.A. Soane Student. Admitted 1902-3.
- E. F. Reynolds. Admitted 1902-3.
- M. Cary. M.A.  
(M. O. B. Caspari). Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. University Scholar in German. Admitted 1903-4.
- J. L. Stokes. B.A. Formerly Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School since 1905. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903-4.
- Miss M. K. Welsh  
(Mrs. A. M. Daniel). Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Studentship. Admitted 1903-4.
- †G. Dickins. M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Admitted 1904-5, 1905-6. Re-admitted as School Student, 1906-7. Re-admitted 1907-8, 1908-9, 1912-13.
- C. C. T. Doll. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the excavations at Knossos since 1905. Admitted 1904-5.
- C. H. Hawes. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Curator, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Late Professor of Anthropology, Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904-5, 1908-9.
- W. A. Kirkwood.  
M.A. (Harvard),  
Ph.D. (Harvard). University College, Toronto. Registrar of Trinity College, Toronto. Admitted 1904-5.
- H. J. W. Tillyard.  
D.Litt. (Edinburgh),  
M.A. Caius College, Cambridge. Reader in Russian, University of Birmingham. Formerly Professor of Classics, University College, Johannesburg, South Africa. Late Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904-5 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905-6 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906-7, 1908-9. Re-admitted 1912-13.
- Miss G. M. A. Richter.  
Litt.D. Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Curator in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904-5.

† Killed in action, April 9th, 1917.

† Died of wounds, July 17th, 1916.

- J. P. Droop. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Late Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905—6, 1906—7 (Pendergast Student), 1907—8 (School Student), 1908—9, 1910—11, 1912—13, 1913—14. Re-admitted 1921—22.
- Miss M. Hamilton. M.A., D.Litt. (Mrs. G. Dickins). University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—6, 1906—7.
- A. C. B. Brown. M.A. Scholar of New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905—6.
- F. Orr. Admitted 1905—6.
- R. Traquair. F.R.I.B.A. Admitted 1905—6 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Professor of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal. Re-admitted 1906—7, as Student of the Byzantine Fund.
- Miss E. B. Abrahams. M.A. (Mrs. Culley). Bedford College, London. Admitted 1905—6.
- W. J. Farrell. M.A. Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—8, 1908—9, 1909—10.
- Walter S. George. Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British Architects. Late Assistant to Architects of Imperial Delhi. Admitted 1906—7. Re-admitted 1908—9, 1909—10, as student of the Byzantine Research Fund. Re-admitted 1912—13.
- T. E. Peet. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Officer of Egypt Exploration Society and Professor of Egyptology in the University of Manchester. Admitted as Craven Fellow, 1906—7, and as Pelham Student in the British School at Rome 1908—9.
- A. M. Woodward. M.A. Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Leeds. Assistant Director, 1909—10. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—8, 1908—9.
- W. M. Calder. B.A. Christ Church, Oxford. Professor of Greek in Victoria University, Manchester. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student, Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—8.
- W. Harvey. Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907—8.
- H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A., D.S.C. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—8.
- M. S. Thompson. M.A., O.B.E. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham Scholarship. Craven Fellow, School Student. Admitted 1907—8, 1908—9, 1909—10, 1910—11, 1911—12. Secretary of the British School at Athens.
- A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907—8.
- N. Whatley. M.A. Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—8.

- †G. L. Cheesman. M.A. Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908-9.
- A. W. Gomme. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek, University of Glasgow. Previously Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908-9.
- L. B. Budden. M.A., A.R.I.B.A. Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909-10.
- S. W. Grose. M.A. Christ's College, Cambridge. Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge. From 1914, cataloguing McClean Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum. School Student. Admitted 1909-10.
- H. A. Ormerod. M.A., M.C. Queen's College, Oxford. Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909-10, 1910-11.
- H. H. Jewell. Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909-10.
- W. R. Halliday. B.A., B.Litt. New College, Oxford. Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1910-11. Re-admitted 1912-13.
- Miss D. Lamb. M.B.E. (Mrs. J. R. Brooke). Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910-11. Re-admitted 1913-14.
- Miss L. E. Tennant (Mrs. F. J. Watson Taylor). Admitted 1910-11.
- E. S. G. Robinson. M.A. Christ Church, Oxford. Assistant in the Coin and Medal Department, British Museum. School Student. Admitted 1910-11.
- L. B. Tillard. B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910-11.
- A. J. Toynbee. B.A. Sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Koraes Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature and History at King's College, University of London. Admitted 1911-12. Re-admitted 1920-21.
- R. S. Darbshire. B.A. Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911-12.
- Miss M. M. Hardie. M.A. (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck). Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as School Student, 1911-12.
- E. M. W. Tillyard. M.A., O.B.E. Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911-12.
- M. L. W. Laistner. B.A. Jesus College, Cambridge. Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Victoria University, Manchester. Late Lecturer in Archaeology and Ancient History, Queen's University, Belfast. Craven Student. Admitted 1912-13. Re-admitted 1913-14 as School Student.
- S. Casson. M.A. Lincoln College, Oxford, and Senior Scholar of St. John's College. Fellow of New College. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Assistant Director of the School, 1919-1922. School Student. Admitted 1912-13. Re-admitted 1913-14.
- R. S. Lambert. Repton School.

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† Killed in action, August 10th, 1915.

Gordon Leith.	Holder of Herbert Baker Studentship. Admitted 1912—13.
C. A. Scutt. M.A.	Clare College, Cambridge. Professor of Greek in the University of Melbourne, Victoria. Prendergast Student of the University of Cambridge. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
†R. M. Heath. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1913—14.
J. Boxwell. B.A.	Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Travelling Scholar of Union of South Africa. Admitted 1913—14.
Miss M. N. L. Taylor (Mrs. H. C. Bradford.)	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1913—14.
J. Arnott Hamilton. M.A.	University of Edinburgh. Holder of the Blackie Scholarship. Admitted 1913—14.
Miss E. Radford.	Admitted 1913—14.
Miss Agnes Conway. M.B.E.	Admitted 1913—14.
Rev. W. A. Wigram. D.D.	Admitted 1913—14.
†C. B. Moss-Blundell. B.A.	New College, Oxford. School Student elect 1914—15.
H. Collingham. B.A.	Queen's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at St. Olave's, Southwark. Craven Student. Admitted 1919—20.
M. Tierney. B.A.	University of Ireland. Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University College, Dublin. Admitted 1919—20.
A. W. Lawrence.	New College, Oxford. Admitted with grant from the Craven Fund, 1919—20. Re-admitted 1921—22.
F. L. Lucas. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Fellow and Lecturer of King's College. School Student. Admitted 1920—21.
B. Ashmole. M.A., M.C.	Hertford College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. School Student. Admitted 1920—21, 1921—22.
H. T. Wade Gery. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College. Admitted 1920—21, 1921—22.
J. J. E. Hondius. Litt.Class.Doc.	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student 1920—21.
C. A. Boethius. Dr.Phil.	University of Upsala, Sweden. Admitted as Foreign Student 1920—21, 1921—22.
Miss L. Chandler. B.A.	University of Sheffield. Classical Mistress at the Girls' Grammar School, Leigh, Lancs. First Holder of Gustav Sachs Memorial Studentship. Admitted 1920—21.
Miss M. A. B. Herford. M.A. (Mrs. G. E. K. Braunholtz.)	University of Manchester and Somerville College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester. Admitted 1920—21.
Miss W. Lamb.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Hon. Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department, Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted 1920—21, 1921—22.

† Killed in action, September 16th, 1916.

† Killed in action, September 26th, 1915.

M. A. Hondius-Van Haeften (Mrs. J. J. E. Hondius.)	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1920-21.
W. A. Heurtley. M.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Diploma of Archaeology, Oxford. School Student. Admitted 1921-22.
J. E. Hutchinson. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Craven Student. Admitted 1921-22.
J. E. Scott. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Fellow and Lecturer of Caius College, Cambridge. Admitted 1921-22.
E. Smith. Docent.	University of Christiania, Sweden. Lecturer in Classics. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921-22.
*H. Smith (Mrs. E. Smith.)	University of Christiania, Sweden. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921-22.
E. Kjellberg. Ph.D.	University of Lund, Sweden. Assistant in the National Museum, Stockholm. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921-22.
J. Waldis. Dr.Phil.	University of Zurich, Switzerland. Professor at the Gymnasium, Lucerne. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921-22.
G. Snijder.	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student with Travelling Fellowship from his University, 1921-22.

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\* Deceased.

## ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	"	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	"	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	"	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	"	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	"	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	"	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	"	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	"	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	"	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	"	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	"	1906.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq.	"	1910.
Miss Negroponte.	"	1912.
C. J. Ellingham, Esq.	"	1913.
Capt. H. M. Greaves, R.A.	"	1913.
Shirley Atchley, Esq.	"	1920.

# RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

## BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

### OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

### THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. Subscribers of £2 annually or more, and Donors of £20 and upwards to the general funds of the School, shall receive a copy of the *Annual* free of charge.

Subscribers of £1 annually and Donors of £10 to the general funds shall be allowed to purchase the *Annual* at a reduced rate of £1. All Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of the Annual Report and to use the Library and attend the public meetings of the School in Athens.

VII. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VIII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

IX. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

### THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following :—

- (1) The Trustees of the School.
- (2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.
- (3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
- (4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

- (1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
- (2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.
- (3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.



## THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to assist in editing the *School Annual*.

XXIX. (a) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (b) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

## RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of seventeen shillings and sixpence a week for the smaller, and twenty-five shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel.<sup>1</sup> These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, Members of the Committee, and ex-Directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be from thirty-five to fifty-six shillings a week, or from five to eight drachmas a night.<sup>1</sup>

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

## RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

<sup>1</sup> These rates are subject to alteration owing to the fluctuations in the exchange.

To meet the present high cost of maintenance an entrance fee of £2 2s. per Session is now payable by Students. Non-Students pay £2 2s. for any period up to three months, or £5 5s. per Session.

## PUBLICATION.

XLII. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

## THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

*Revised, 1920.*

## MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1919—1920.

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PROFESSOR R. C. BOSANQUET.		Appointed by the Hellenic Society.
MISS C. A. HUTTON, <i>ex-officio</i> as joint editor of the <i>Annual</i> .		
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## ASSISTANT-DIRECTOR AND LIBRARIAN, 1919—1920.

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MISS C. A. HUTTON, <i>ex-officio</i> as joint editor of the <i>Annual</i> .		
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## DIRECTOR, 1920-21.

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## ASSISTANT-DIRECTOR AND LIBRARIAN, 1920-1921.

STANLEY CASSON, Esq., M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford.

## MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1921-1922.

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PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D.	}	Appointed by the University of Oxford.
F. E. ADCOCK, Esq., M.A.		Appointed by the University of Cambridge.
R. C. BOSANQUET, Esq., M.A.		Appointed by the Hellenic Society.
MISS C. A. HUTTON, <i>ex-officio</i> as joint editor of the <i>Annual</i> .		
T. W. ALLEN, Esq., M.A.		
PROFESSOR R. M. DAWKINS, M.A.		
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D. G. HOGARTH, Esq., C.M.G., D.Litt.		Appointed by the Subscribers.
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L. WHIBLEY, Esq., M.A.		
PROFESSOR A. E. ZIMMERN, M.A.		
V. W. YORKE, Esq., M.A., <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C. 4.		
M. S. THOMPSON, Esq., M.A., <i>Secretary</i> , 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.		

## DIRECTOR, 1921-1922.

A. J. B. WACE, Esq., M.A., Late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

## ASSISTANT-DIRECTOR AND LIBRARIAN, 1921-1922.

STANLEY CASSON, Esq., M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford.

## NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

## ANCIENT GREEK.

## Vowels.

$\alpha = a :$	} krater, lekane.
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \epsilon = e : \\ \eta = \epsilon : \end{array} \right.$	
$\iota = i :$	kalpis.
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \omicron = o : \\ \omega = o : \end{array} \right.$	kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.
$υ = y$	after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix; $u$ after another vowel, as boule.
$αι = ai :$	Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when $ae$ may be used.
$ει = ei :$	Meidias.
$οι = oi :$	Chalkioikos.
$υι = ui :$	muia.
$αυ = au :$	Aulis.
$ευ = eu :$	Eutychos.
$ου = ou :$	boule.

## Consonants.

$\beta = b$ ;  $\gamma = g$ ;  $\delta = d$ ;  $\zeta = z$ ;  $\theta = th$ ;  $\kappa = k^1$ ;  $\lambda = l$ ;  $\mu = m$ ;  $\nu = n$ ;  $\xi = x$ ;  
 $\pi = p$ ;  $\rho = r$ ;  $\sigma, \varsigma = s$ ;  $\tau = t$ ;  $\phi = ph$ ;  $\chi = ch$ ;  $\psi = ps$ ;  $\gamma\gamma = ng$ ;  $\gamma\kappa = nk$ ;  
 $\gamma\chi = nch$ ;  $\rho = rh$ .

<sup>1</sup>  $\kappa$  never =  $c$  except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Cleon, which have become English words.

*Accents.*

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.<sup>1</sup>*Vowels.*

$a=a:$	}	Πέντε Πηγάδια=Pénte Pegádia.
$e=e:$		
$\eta=e:$		
$i=i:$		

$\begin{cases} o \\ \omega \end{cases}=o:$	}	Γεώργιος=Geórgios.

$u=y:$  Μύλοι=Myloi. But for *av*, *ev*, *ou* see below

$ai=ai:$  Καισαριανή=Kaisariané.

$ei=ei:$  Ἁγία Εἰρήνη=Hagía Eiréne.

$oi=oi:$  Μολάοι=Molaoi.

$ui=yi:$  ψυχουῖος=psychoyíos.

$ou=ou:$  Σκριποῦ=Skripoù.

$\begin{cases} av \\ ev \end{cases}=af$  and  $ef$  before unvoiced consonants ( $\theta$ ,  $\kappa$  ( $\xi$ ,  $\psi$ ),  $\pi$ ,  $s$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ) and

*av*, *ev* before vowels and voiced consonants; Εὐθύμιος=Efthýmios; Λάυρα=Lávra.

*Consonants.*

$\beta=v$ ;  $\gamma=g$ , but  $\gamma\gamma$ ,  $\gamma\kappa$  and  $\gamma\chi$  as *ng*, *nk* and *nch*;  $\delta=d$ ;  $\zeta=z$ ;  $\theta=th$ ;  $\kappa=k$ ;  $\lambda=l$ ;  $\mu=m$ ;  $\nu=n$ ;  $\xi=x$ ;  $\pi=p$ ;  $\rho=r$ ;  $\rho\rho=rrh$ ;  $\acute{\rho}=rh$ ;  $\sigma,s=s$ ;  $\tau=t$ ;  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi=ph$ ,  $ch$ ,  $ps$ .<sup>2</sup>

The rough breathing to be written *h*: Ἁγιος Γεώργιος=H. Geórgios.

*Accents.*

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.*, vol. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Such combinations as  $\mu\pi$  are best represented by the corresponding sound.—[Ed.]

## ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual*.

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[REPRINTED FROM *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIX., PART II., 1909, PP. LXXXVII—IX.]

*Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.*

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34.

or—

Six, *Protopogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e. g. Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 123.

*Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.*

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

*A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.

*Ann. d. I.* = Annali dell' Istituto.

*Arch. Anz.* = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).

*Arch. Zeit.* = Archäologische Zeitung.

*Ath. Mitt.* = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.

Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.

*B.C.H.* = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

- Berl. Vas.* = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.  
*B.M. Bronzes* = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.  
*B.M. Coins* = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.  
*B.M. Rings* = British Museum Catalogue of Finger-Rings.  
*B.M. Inscr.* = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.  
*B.M. Jewellery* = British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.  
*B.M. Sculpt.* = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.  
*B.M. Terracottas* = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.  
*B.M. Vases* = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.  
*B.S.A.* = Annual of the British School at Athens.  
*B.S.R.* = Papers of the British School at Rome.  
*Bull. d. I.* = Bullettino dell' Istituto.  
*Busolt* = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.  
*C.I.G.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*C.I.L.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.  
*Cl. Rev.* = Classical Review.  
*C.R. Acad. Inscr.* = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.  
*C.R. St. Pétr.* = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.  
*Dar.-Sagl.* = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.  
*Dittenb. O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.  
*Dittenb. Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*Ἀρχ. Ἔφ.* = Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.  
*G.D.I.* = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften (or Collitz-Bechtei).  
*Gerh. A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.  
*G.G.A.* = Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
*Head, H.N.*<sup>2</sup> = Head, Historia Numorum. Revised Edition, 1910.  
*I.G.* = Inscriptiones Graecae.<sup>1</sup>  
*I.G.A.* = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.  
*Jahrb.* = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.  
*Jahresh.* = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.  
*J.H.S.* = Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
*Klio* = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).  
*Le Bas-Wadd.* = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.  
*Liverpool Annals* = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of University of Liverpool.  
*Michel* = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.  
*Mon. d. I.* = Monumenti dell' Istituto.  
*Müller-Wies.* = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.  
*Mus. Marbles.* = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

- |             |      |   |   |
|-------------|------|---|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I.   | = | Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.                 |
| "           | II.  | = | " " aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| "           | III. | = | " " aetatis Romanae.                                      |
| "           | IV.  | = | " Argolidis.  |
| "           | VII. | = | " Megaridis et Boeotiae.                                  |
| "           | IX.  | = | " Graeciae Septentrionalis.                               |
| "           | XII. | = | " Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.                      |
| "           | XIV. | = | " Italiae et Siciliae.                                    |

*Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.* = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.

*Neue Jahrb. Phil.* = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

*Niese* = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.

*Num. Chr.* = Numismatic Chronicle.

*Num. Zeit.* = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

*Pauly-Wissowa* = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

*Philol.* = Philologus.

*Ramsay, C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.

*Ramsay, Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.

*Reinach, Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.

*Reinach, Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.

*Rev. Arch.* = Revue Archéologique.

*Rev. Ét. Gr.* = Revue des Études Grecques.

*Rev. Num.* = Revue Numismatique.

*Rev. Philol.* = Revue de Philologie.

*Rh. Mus.* = Rheinisches Museum.

*Röm. Mitl.* = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.

*Roscher* = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

*S.M.C.* = Sparta Museum Catalogue.

*T.A.M.* = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

*Z.f.N.* = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

### *Transliteration 'of Inscriptions.*

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i. e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i. e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i. e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

... Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

--- Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears on the original, should be represented by a special sign <sup>h</sup>.



*Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.*

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions*.

- ( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
- [[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing in the original.
- < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

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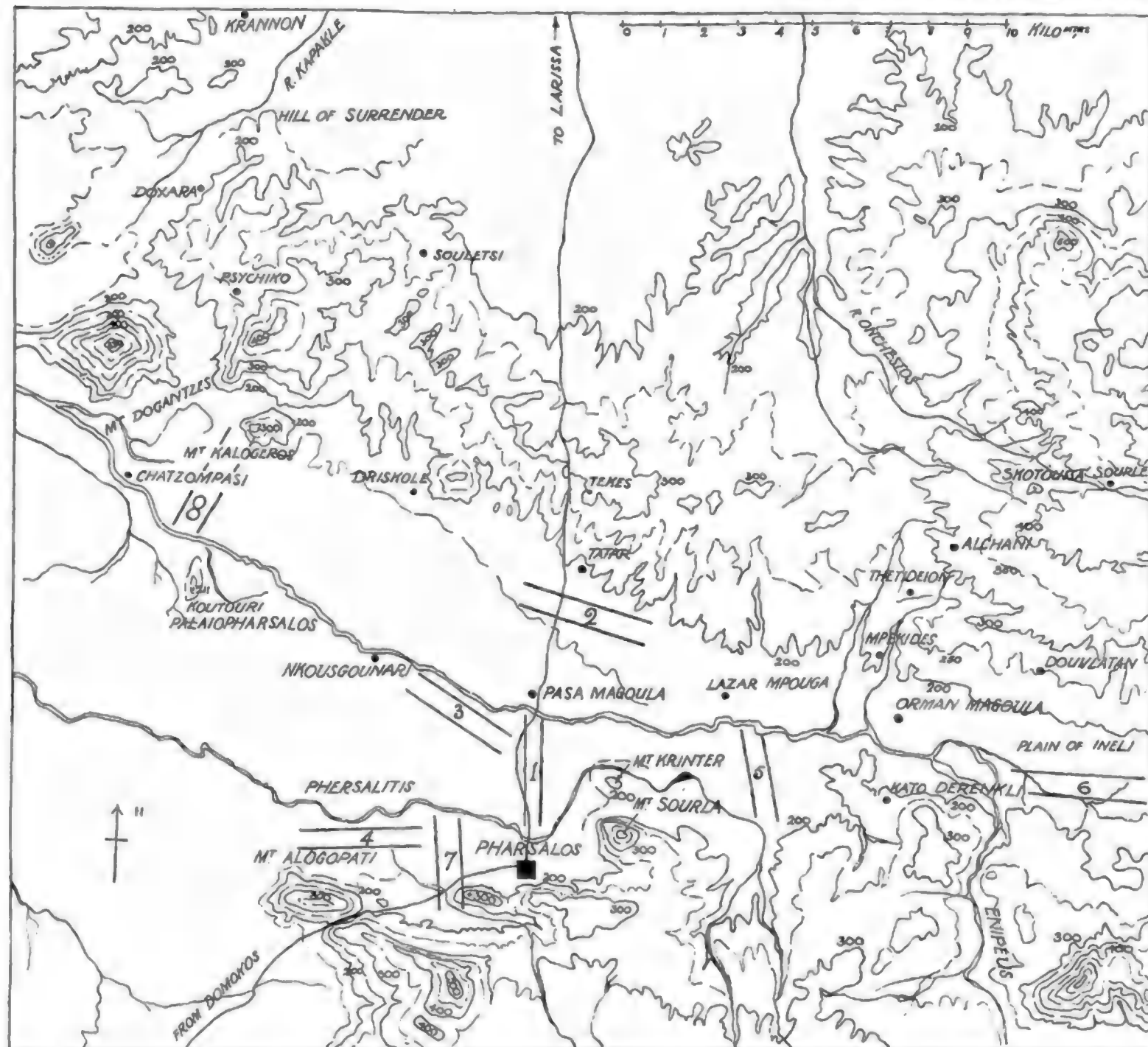
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MACEDONIA: METAL ORNAMENTS FROM THE SLAB GRAVE, CHAUCHITSA. (Scale 2:3.)







MAP OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF PHARSALOS (BASED ON THE GREEK STAFF MAP OF 1914). (Scale 1:150,000.)

The lines marked 1-8 show the lines of battle as planned by :—(1) Leake, Kromayer. (2) von Goeler. (3) Mommisen. (4) Heuzey. (5) Stoffel. (6) Rice-Holmes. (7) Chatzimichaels. (8) The Author.





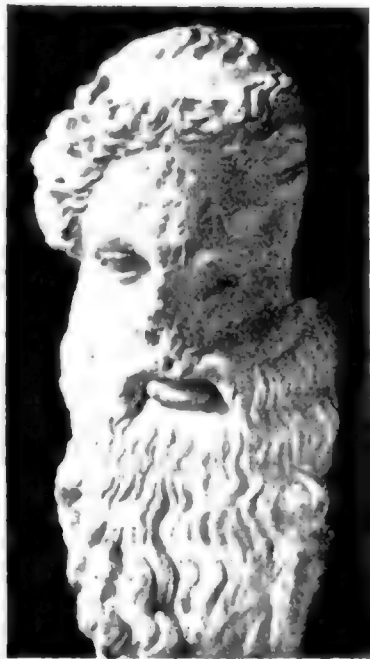
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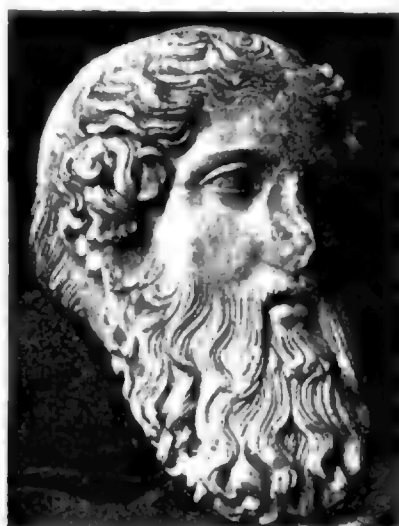
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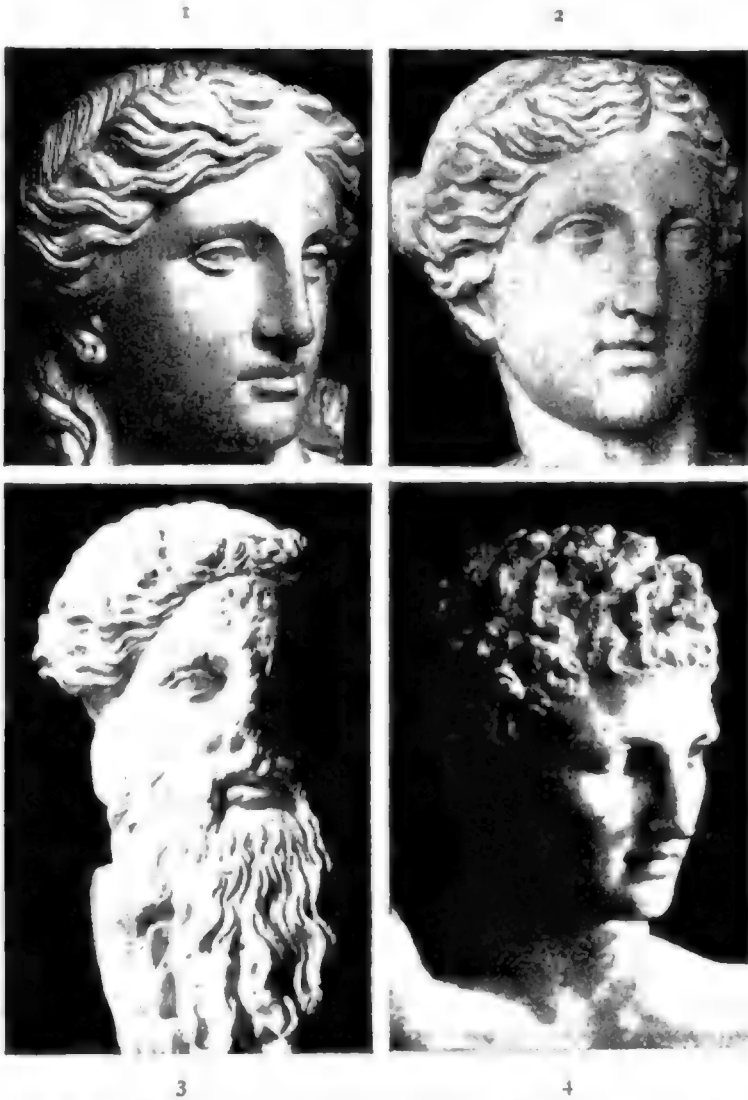
THE SO-CALLED 'SARDANAPALUS': 1. THE ATHENS STATUE AS RESTORED.  
2, 3. THE HEAD IN PROFILE. 4. THE HEAD FROM A CAST.





ATTIC MID FIFTH-CENTURY TYPE OF DIONYSOS: MARBLE HEAD  
FROM THE PEIRAEUS

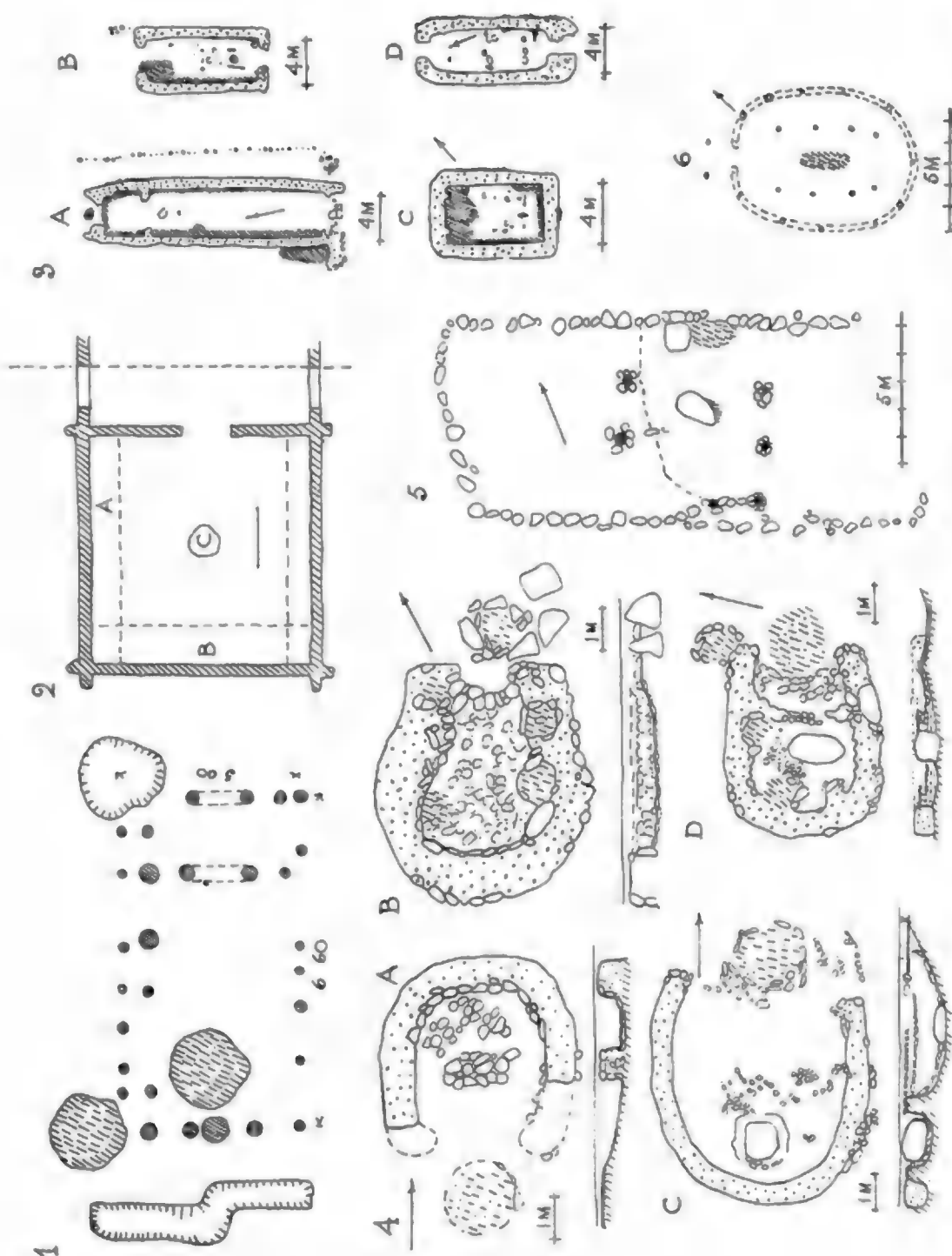




THE SO-CALLED 'SARDANAPALUS': ATHENS HEAD (3) COMPARED WITH  
THE EIRENE (1) AT MUNICH, PRANITELEAN HEAD (2) AT STOCKHOLM,  
HERMES (4) AT OLYMPIA.







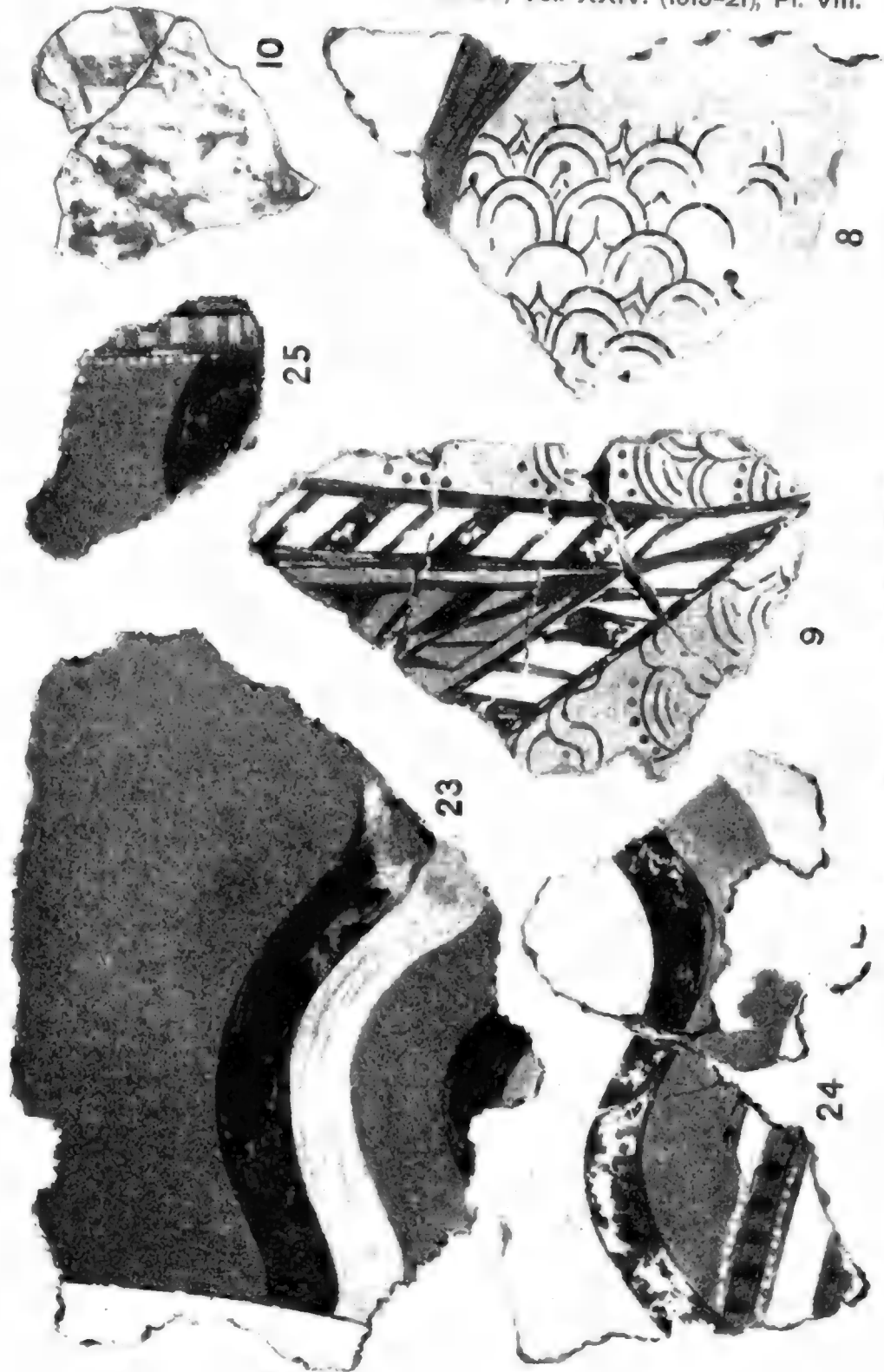
NORNIC HOUSES: 1. Late Bronze Age, at Buch (Brandenburg). 2. Plan of Swedish Summer-village Log Cabin at Ore (Dalecarlia). A, B = Benches, C = Hearth. 3. Hjaltegrävar. 4. Neolithic, at Klein Meinsdorf (Schleswig-Holstein). 5. Swedish Iron Age, at Alunda (Upland). 6. Swedish Viking Age (reconstruction) at Angermund (Blekinge).





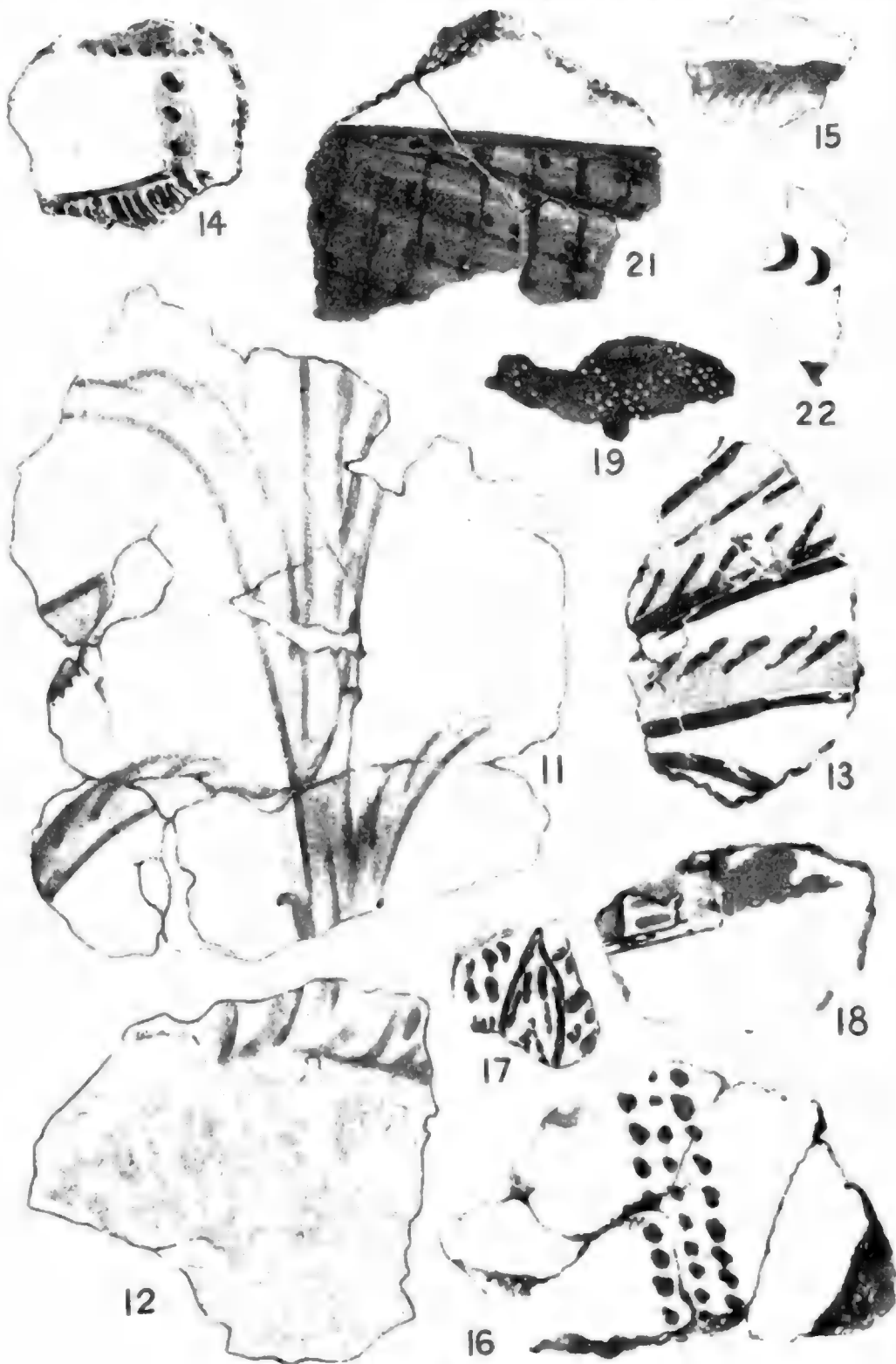
MYCENAE : FRESQUES FROM THE RAMP HOUSE.





MYCENAE: FRESQUES FROM THE RAMP HOUSE.

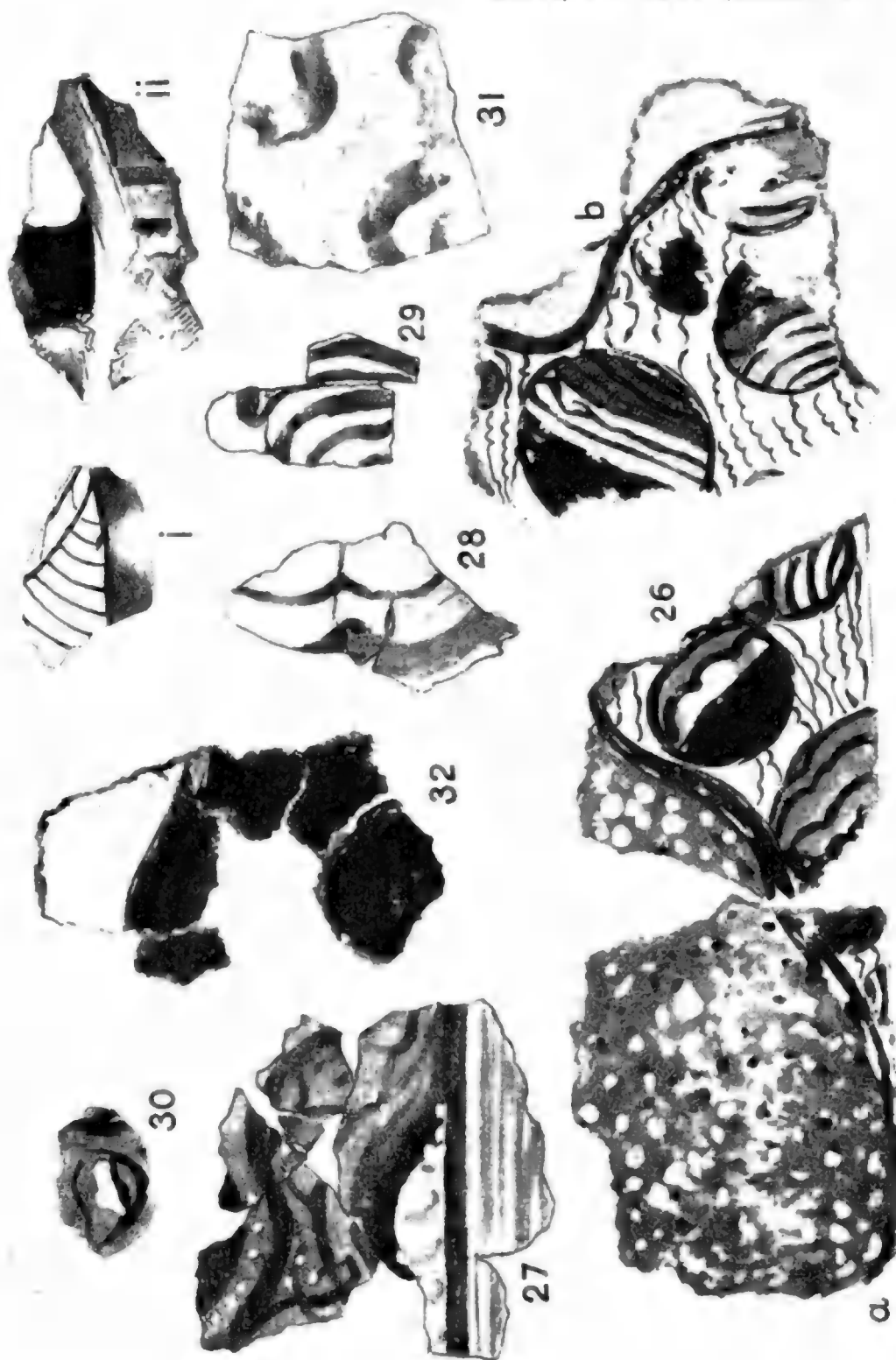




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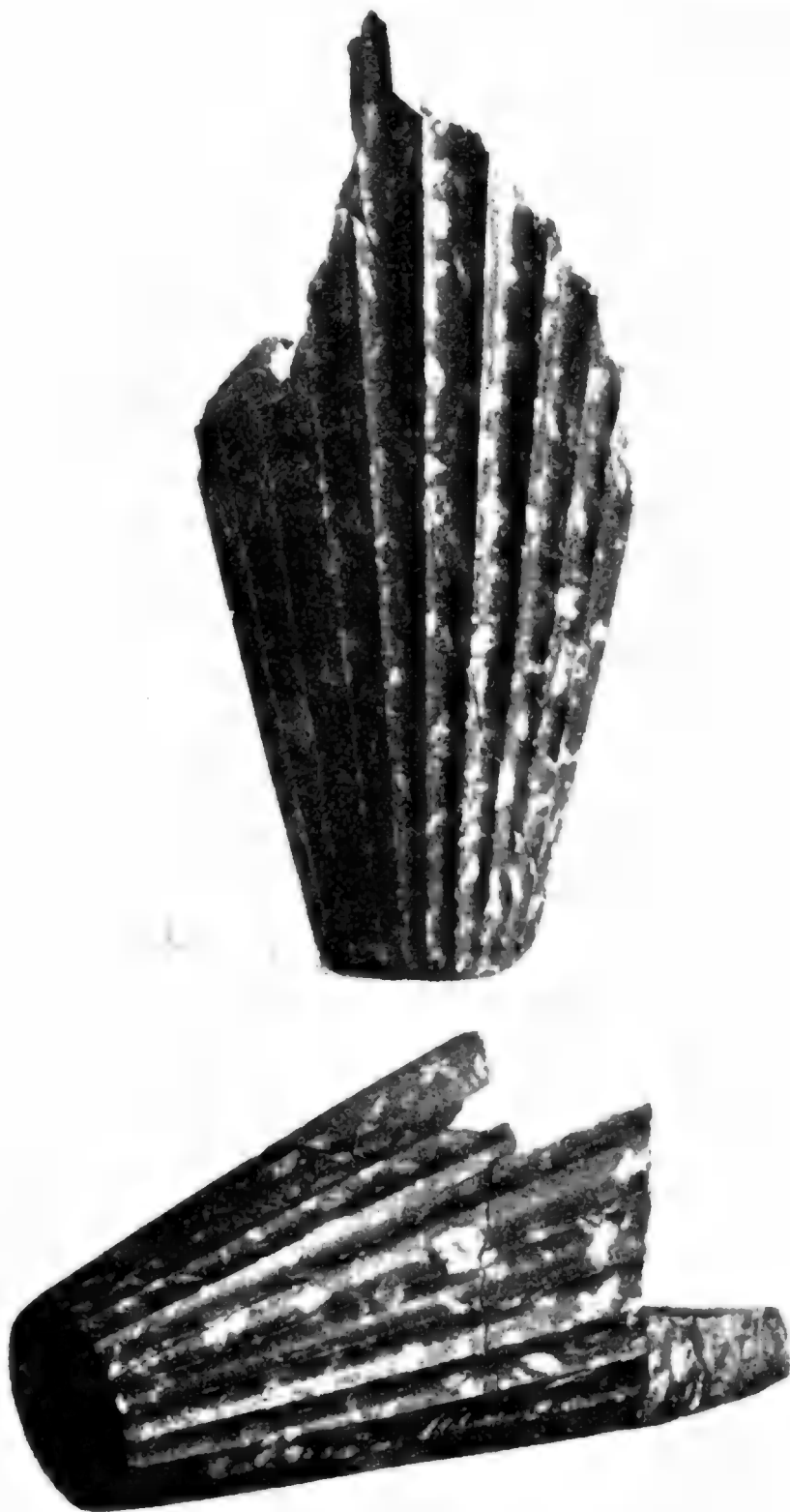






MYCENAE: FRESCOS FROM THE RAMP HOUSE.





MYCENAE: RHYTON OF *Lapis Lazuli*. Two Views. (Scale 3:4.)





A.

B.

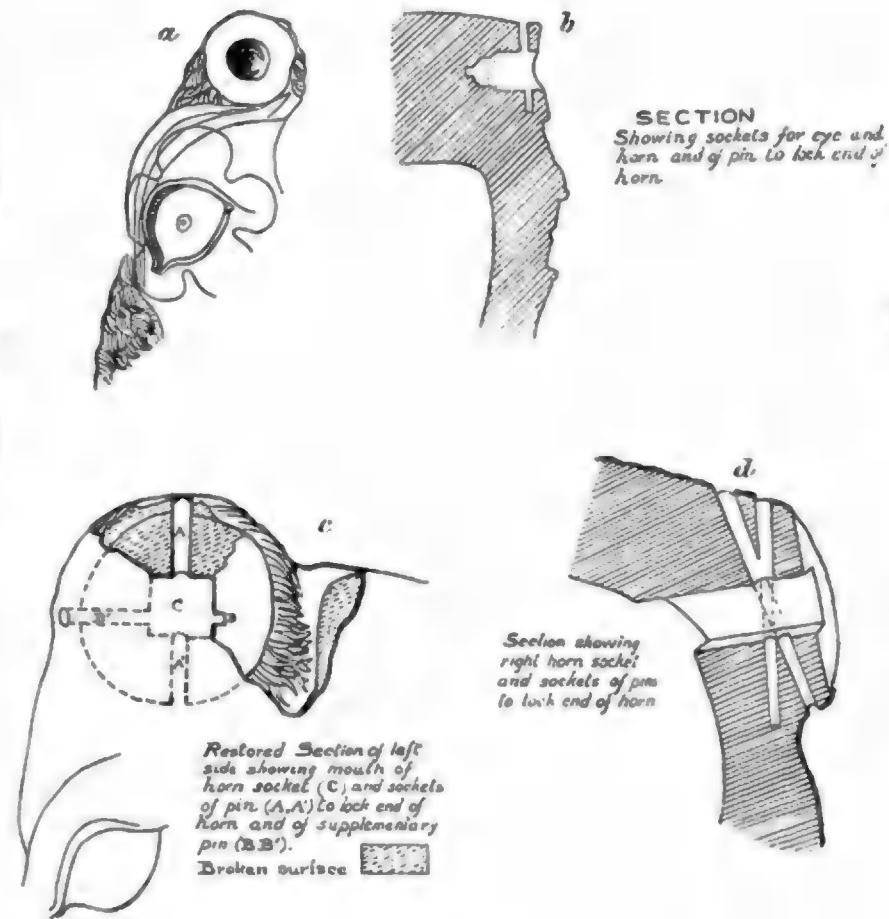
MYCENAE: A. ALABASTER CUP FROM FIFTH SHAFT GRAVE. (Scale 3 : 5.)

B. FOOT OF ALABASTER CUP FROM RHYTON WELL. (Scale 3 : 4.)

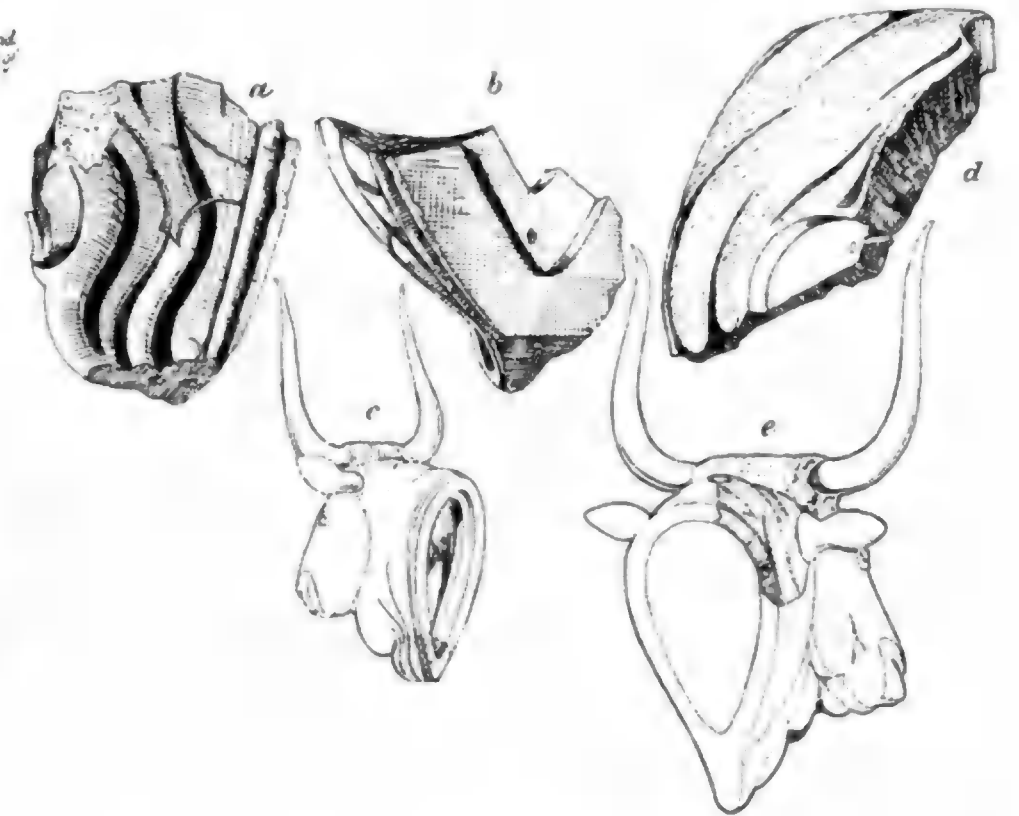




MYCENAE: 1. FRAGMENTS OF BULL'S-HEAD RHYTONS CARVED IN STEATITE. (Scale 1:4.)



2. DETAILS OF CONSTRUCTION OF BULL'S-HEAD RHYTONS. (Scale 1:4.)



3. FRAGMENTS OF BULL'S-HEAD RHYTONS CARVED IN STEATITE. (Scale a, b, d, 1:2; c, 1:5; e, 1:5.)







MYCENAE: VASE FRAGMENTS AND JUG FROM RHYTON WELL. (Scale 1 : 2.)







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